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Valentine S. McClatchy, for many years secretary of the California Joint Immigration Committee, shortly before his death in 1958 evaluated the collection of "Japanese pamphlets" by placing a symbol on the cover of each pamphlet. The symbols used and their meanings are as follows:

- c - Japanese exclusion
- cc - opposed
- - statistical non-partisan
- x - objectionable to both sides

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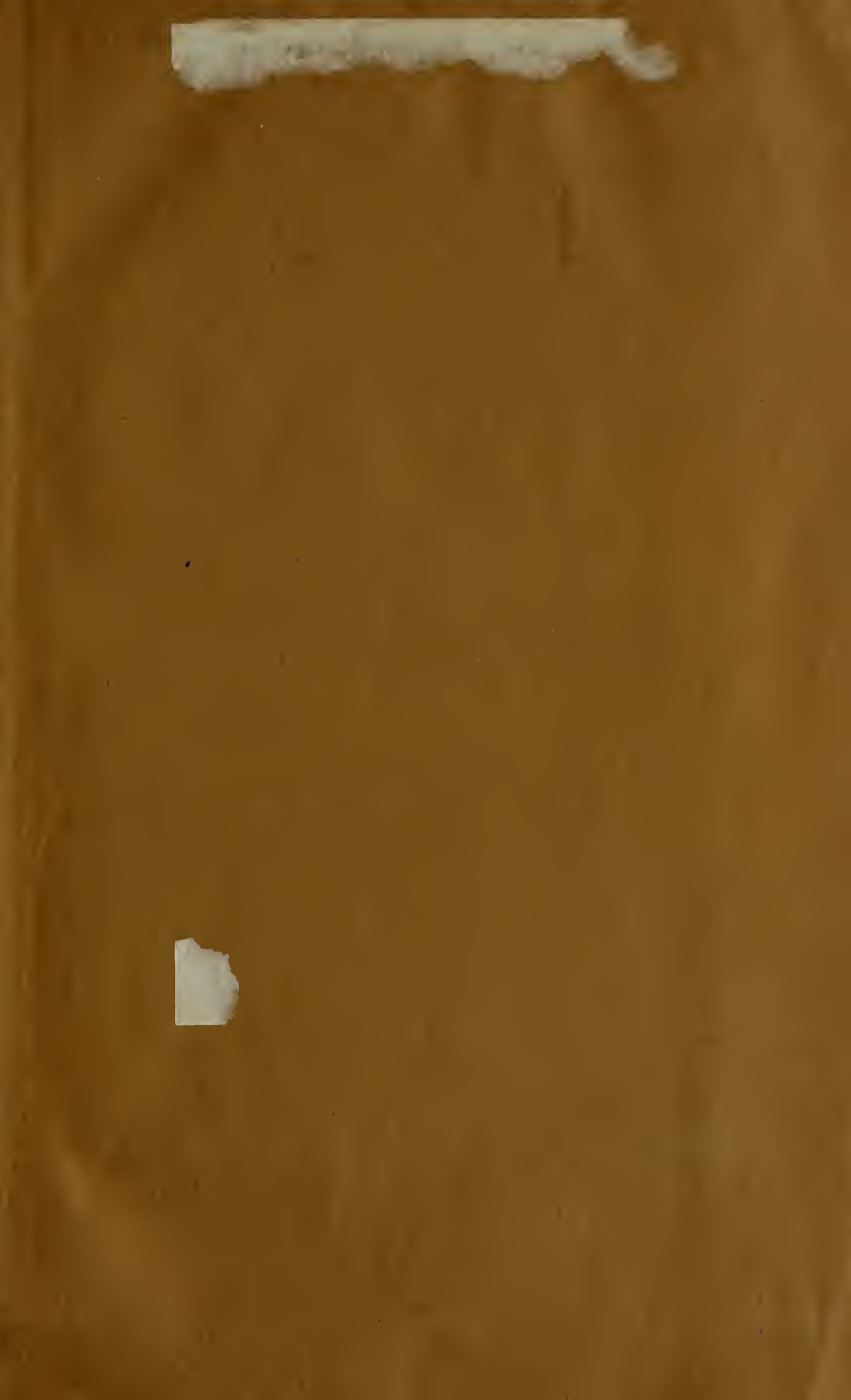
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THE JAPAN SOCIETY OF AMERICA

COUNT SHIGENOBU OKUMA

PROF. HARVEY HUGO GUY, Ph. D.



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THE JAPAN SOCIETY OF AMERICA
HOTEL ST. FRANCIS, SAN FRANCISCO

AND
YOUNG

"The object of this Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to the Empire of Japan; to foster and encourage a cordial relationship between the peoples of America and of Japan; to cultivate and spread a knowledge of the arts and industries of Japan, together with its language, history, folklore and customs; and to these ends to hold exhibitions from time to time; to invite lecturers and to convene meetings for informal discussions."—*Constitution*.

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192794

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COUNT SHIGENOBU OKUMA.

Prof. Harvey Hugo Guy, Ph. D.

The return of Count Okuma into Japanese politics after a period of retirement is at once the most significant and at the same time the most hopeful event reported in recent Far Eastern affairs. He has been the leading figure in Japanese political life for the last half century, even in retirement exerting a powerful influence upon public opinion. In him the very best Japanese traditions find their fulfillment, and he equally embodies the highest things which have gone to Japan from our Western world. The "grand old man" is truly a world statesman, ever looking to the greater future of his nation and striving to see that future realized in the broadest and most cosmopolitan sense. He has always been the spokesman of the people. Their hopes have been his hopes, their burdens his burdens. He is the idol of the thousands of students who flock in the great cities of the Empire. He brings with him a cabinet of the people. The Army and the Navy for the time be-

ing have taken second place. The bureaucracy, also, must now listen to the voice of its most persistent critic. The return of this peerless leader has caused great rejoicing in the Empire which is shared by all well-wishers of Japan throughout the world.

Count Shigenobu Okuma was born in the province of Saga in February, 1838. He was raised to the peerage in 1887. He has served his country in the capacity of Minister of the Treasury, Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister, in each of which he has demonstrated the wisdom of his choice. Fifteen years ago the Count retired from active participation in politics. These years, however, have been among the most fruitful of all his life.

The Count at Home.

The residence of the Count is located at Waseda, a thriving section of the city of Tokyo. The mansion is in two parts, one purely Japanese in style and the other European. The favored guests are invariably received in the Japanese apartments even though they may be foreigners. In private life the Count's favorite hobby is horticulture. At Waseda he has a magnificent collection of orchids and chrysanthemums which are the particular attractions drawing into his gardens visitors from all over the world. Sheltered within huge conserva-

tories he has also collected a large variety of tropical plants. In these gardens the Count entertains his friends. He is a genial host and the charm of his personality broods over the entire compound. Walking with his friends among his flowers he presents a most striking picture. He usually walks assisted by one of his attendants, this being necessary on account of his having lost one of his legs by a bomb hurled at his carriage as he drove past on his way to the Foreign Department in 1889. In the quiet of this magnificent palace the Count is very busy. He is in close touch with the events of the world. He has not so far traveled beyond his own land, yet he knows from close study of contemporary literature as much about the countries and peoples of the Occident as he would probably have acquired in years of travel. He surprises his friends with the minuteness of his knowledge and the sanity of his judgment upon affairs in remote parts of the world. He speaks with the familiarity of first-hand knowledge.

The Count and His University.

The years of retirement to which reference has been made were not years of idleness or mere selfish pleasure. They were active years in every respect. During these years he continued his efforts to build up a great University which had had its beginning amidst misunderstanding and criti-

cism. "Semmon Gakko" became "Waseda Daigaku." The purely technical institution became a University with many colleges and departments. At first it was looked upon as the wild scheme of some "socialist" who had been disappointed in his political ambitions. The finger of criticism was often pointed at Waseda and at the gray haired Count. But nothing dismayed, he kept on. He called to his assistance the very best scholars in the Empire. He erected suitable buildings, largely out of his private resources. He sought to carry out the Imperial Rescript in which His Majesty had said: "We shall endeavor to raise the prestige and honor of our country by seeking knowledge throughout the world. If the principle of swimming breast-high on the tide of human progress is to be adhered to in its entirety the intellectual faculty should be applied to all the concerns of daily life, and that cannot be done without education." In obedience to that great impulse the Count has maintained his University and has at the same time taken great personal interest in the development of the many students who have gathered within its walls to receive instruction and inspiration. But his interest in education has not stopped with his own University. He has made it the one aim of his existence to promote the adoption of an educational system throughout the Empire which shall be effective and thorough,

and "if he has in this way led successive governments to regard the work of education as a pressing duty laid upon them, and to spend large sums in its fulfillment, he has not hesitated to devote large sums from his own purse to the attainment of his ideal." The degree to which the Count has devoted himself as well as his private funds to the cause of popular education has made him a unique figure in the East and comparable to the founders of great Universities in our own Western land.

Count Okuma and Prince Ito.

The two really great names in modern Japan are Okuma and Ito. "It is generally conceded that in qualities which go to form a successful politician Count Okuma and Prince Ito have much in common. They were both party leaders with remarkable prestige, each was possessed of remarkable mental vigor and activity. Both were consistent advocates of progress, and both date their service to the Crown from the very beginning of the Meiji reign." If Yamagata deserves the credit of making the sons of Japan into a military power which is the astonishment of the world, and Ito the honor of striving successfully to give Japan the blessings of a constitutional form of government, then to Okuma belongs the honor of making Japan an educated and cosmopolitan land. Since Ito is no more and Yamagata's age prevents him

from great activity in behalf of the nation we must look to Okuma as the one man of peerless strength and foresight to lead the nation to still higher and broader plains of true national greatness.

The Count's Diagnosis of the Present Situation.

In a trenchant sentence the Count defines the present condition of affairs in Japan which are calling for direction and interpretation. "To summarize the situation, Japan at present may be likened to a sea into which a hundred currents of Oriental and Occidental thoughts—some only conceived, others partially or wholly executed, during the past century or more—have poured in and, not having yet effected a fusion, are raging wildly, tossing, warring, and roaring." To give order to this chaos is the duty of the leaders of the nation. Many confusing voices are heard, many conflicting prescriptions are given. You will be interested, I am sure, to know what the Count advises in this situation. "It behooves the Japanese," he says, "to recall the golden texts, 'Destroy all low usages,' and 'Seek knowledge throughout the world,' which occur in the 'Five Articles of the Imperial Oath' taken in the first year of Meiji, and to accept these as great principles for the guidance of the country in its emergence from the policy of exclusion. In renewed loyalty to these principles, they should resolutely determine to strike for

greater national development, and thus bring about a worthy, nay a glorious, sequel to the opening of the country. The only way to accomplish this end seems to be to follow the policy of 'move forward and learn,' and to strive always for the absorption of the world's civilization." Thus the wise leader of his people would bring them into a realization of the meaning of their past and the imperative command of the future. As to the question of international relations his wisdom is equally as keen and apparent. He sees international misunderstanding based on prejudice and lack of information. "To reason against and remove these prejudices and misconceptions," he says, "is a mutual duty devolving as much on our people as on the Western nations concerned. We have no occasion to be deterred by doubts or to hesitate in pressing for the satisfaction of our just demands. I do not in any way sympathize with the idea that, by sending abroad emigrants who become a cause of domestic trouble in the country of their destination, the rights or honor of a great and civilized power, such as ours claims to be, will be served. But I contend that, when a treaty power seeks to enact a law restricting immigration of our laborers, the terms of such restriction should be analogous and even identical with those applicable to the peoples of other great powers or civilized countries."

The Count's Varied Activities.

Count Okuma is not merely the founder and director of a great University. His activities are of the most varied sort. He often appears upon the religious platform of his country and when he does so appear it is always to speak a broad and heartening word to the "preachers of righteousness." He is a prominent figure in the Meeting of Religionists. He is president of the Japan Peace Society and an active worker for international good will. He may be seen at Red Cross meetings and Y. M. C. A. gatherings and Buddhist conventions. You might hear him on all these occasions and yet I venture the statement that you could hardly take exception to what he would say.

The Count as an Orator.

The Count is a "big, broad shouldered man, endowed with a bright, cheery disposition, possessed of most genial manners, and is brilliant and entertaining to a degree in ordinary conversation." As a public speaker he has few equals in the Empire. Deliberate, forceful, at times sarcastic, always pleasing, he commands the perfect attention of every one in his audience. Standing on the platform, his hair white as snow, his brow full and his eye keen, he reminds one of what Cicero must have been when he voiced in incomparable words the ambitions of his people. He has a round,

sonorous voice and his deliberation brings into fine effect his extraordinary command of oratorical Japanese.

With such a high minded gentleman and statesman in the lead Japan's future prosperity is beyond question and her international relations are sure to grow more friendly and hopeful.

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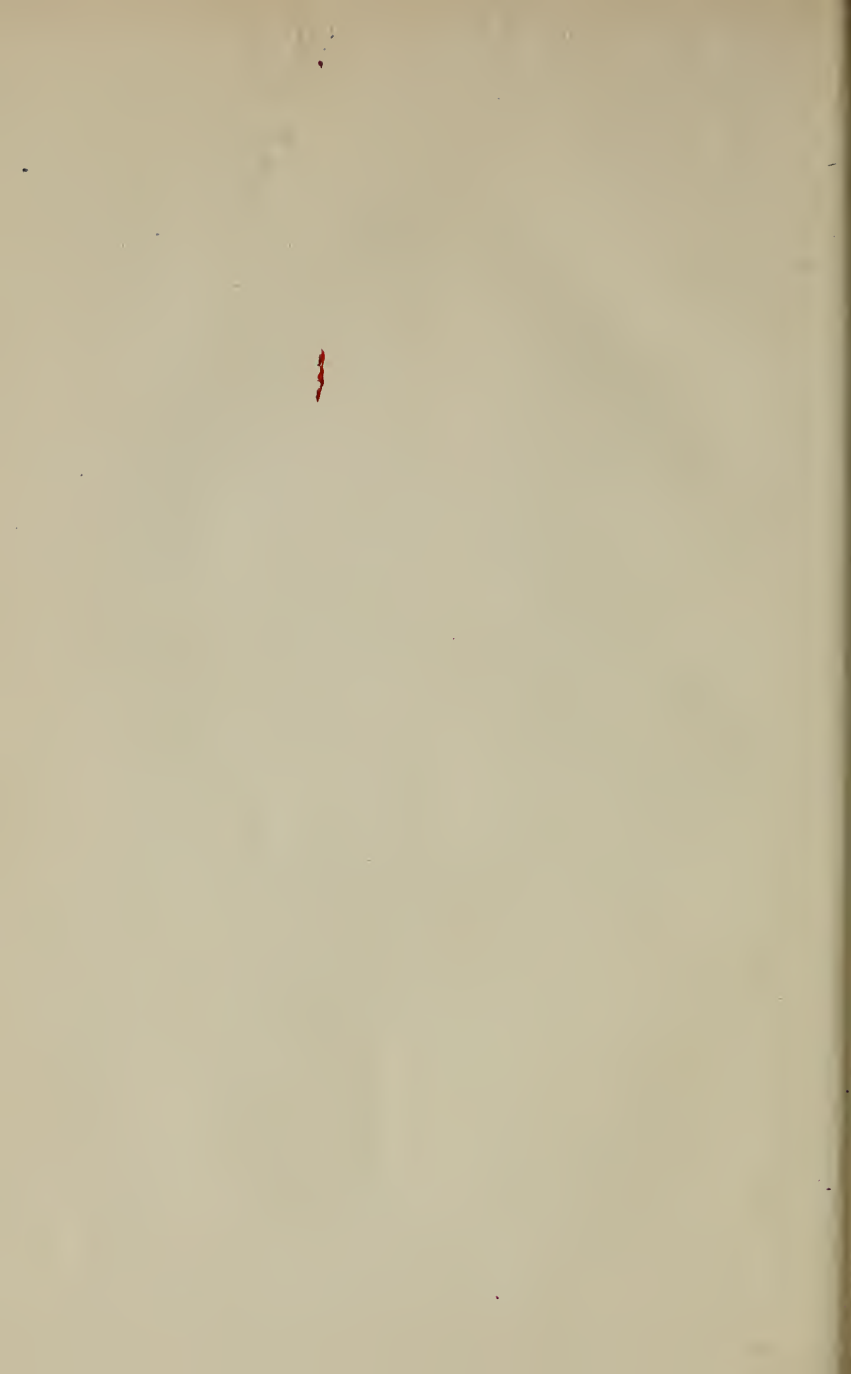
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BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
JAPAN SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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AUGUST 15, 1914

BULLETIN NO. 1

ROOM 507, ORIENT BUILDING

332 PINE STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

THE JAPAN SOCIETY OF AMERICA

"The object of this Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to the Empire of Japan; to foster and encourage a cordial relationship between the peoples of America and of Japan; to cultivate and spread a knowledge of the arts and industries of Japan, together with its language, history, folklore and customs; and to these ends to hold exhibitions from time to time; to invite lecturers and to convene meetings for informal discussions."—*Constitution*.

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FOREWORD

It is the purpose of this Bulletin to speak frankly, though kindly, on American-Japanese affairs. It is easy to speak slightly of men and issues, but to speak frankly is difficult. The Bulletin is not dealing with men, but with issues, and therefore men will be discussed only insofar as they interpret or misinterpret issues. This is not the day to hide facts. The truth may at times be painful, but in the end it is always helpful, and it is the aim of the Bulletin to help and not hurt. We believe in the brotherhood of man, not only in the theory, but in the fact, not indeed realized, but surely to be realized before the human species comes to its best. We believe in liberty both of thought and life and are willing to stake the happiness of the race upon the attainment of that desired goal—the freedom of man. We are not interested primarily, either, in philosophy or theology, though we have no quarrel with either. It may be that they are the essentials of some soul's life and if so, they are sacred. They are, to say the least, manifestations of the deep flowing current of reflection in which we all are being carried out to the fathomless depths of the life that is to be. The issues which divide parties in the political world, the social distinctions in our every day life, the eternal question of the proletariat, "What shall I eat and wherewithal

shall I be clothed?" these though always insistent are at times blind, and insofar as in us lies we shall strive to enlighten this blindness with the light of truth as it shines from facts. We are to undertake by means of this Bulletin to accomplish the purpose for which the Japan society exists, *i. e.*, to bring about a better understanding between Japanese and Americans.

We covet a world void of hatred and misunderstandings and selfish greed and sickening shams. We covet a world in which each shall be the friend of all and all of each, and to the accomplishment of this ideal we have set ourselves.

THE REAL ISSUE

"There shall be a perfect, permanent and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part, and the Empire of Japan on the other part, and between their people respectively, without any exception of persons or places."—Extract from first treaty between America and Japan.

That there is a real issue between the governments of Japan and the United States every one seems quite ready to admit, but when it comes to the matter of defining that issue in clear and concise terms there is general confusion.

It will make the matter clearer if it is described by a process of elimination, by stating what the issue is not. In the first place, it is not a problem or question of immigration. Many people have come to the mistaken conclusion after reading the unfortunately ill-advised articles in the daily press that it is the firm purpose and determination of the Japanese government, by one means or another, to force her surplus labor upon the United States. That the whole matter concerns the possibility of an overwhelming influx of cheap, undesirable, unassimilable laborers. Now both the official and unofficial attitude of the Japanese people ought to, and if known I believe it would, set at

rest that contention. Some years ago the two governments, through properly constituted authorities, entered into an agreement now become famous under the title, "Gentleman's Agreement." By the terms of that agreement Japan voluntarily consented to send no more laborers to this country. That the treaty has been faithfully kept, in a manner agreeable to both countries, the facts abundantly show. Though there has been an effort on the part of certain officials of the United States government and certain politicians with axes to grind to change the issue from one concerning a definite situation to a question of immigration, it is to the honor of the Japanese diplomats that they have protested in no uncertain terms against this attempt to avoid the real issue by changing it. Whatever the case may be in the future at the present the matter under discussion between Japan and America does not concern immigration. There is absolutely no attempt on the part of Japan to open the question of immigration. Instead of sending more laborers to our shores the statistics show that there is a decided decrease of Japanese laborers on the coast. Each ship returning to Japan carries scores of these men back to their homes, and only those who have permanent interests here are permitted to re-enter the United States.

The real issue concerns the Japanese already resident in the United States. That they are lawfully here no one can question. That they invested their money and labor in the soil of the state is equally apparent.

That they are peaceful and law-abiding is the testimony from every quarter where they abide. They are not in evidence at the police courts and are never found among the vagrant population of our cities. The matter before the two nations concerns these people who live in the State of California and not the population of Japan. Up to the time the State of California passed the so-called "Anti-Alien Land Law" (more correctly called "Anti-Japanese Land Law") these Japanese residents, without question from any source, had the legal right both to lease and purchase land for every legitimate purpose within the State. Upon the basis of that unquestioned right they proceeded to purchase and lease land. Though the actual acreage was small it represented the outlay of large sums of money and the sacrifice of mind and body. These investments and undertakings were conditioned for success on future developments. Now the treaty existing between these two nations is silent concerning the rights of the Japanese to purchase and transfer agricultural land in the United States. Where the treaty is silent the actual practice has been to permit them to sell and buy and lease land in the State, which was in complete keeping with the *spirit* of the treaty. Time and again the so-called "most favored nation" clause occurs in the treaty. Time and again it is stated the Japanese are to receive the "same treatment as native subjects or subjects submitting themselves to the laws and regulations there established." Technically this all refers to trade and

commerce and not to the purchase and leasing of agricultural lands, and in a *court of law* the present enactment of the State of California would doubtless be held as not in conflict with the treaty, but surely in a *Court of Justice* the case would be different. It is the contention of Japan that the present law violates both the spirit and the letter of the existing treaty and is an insidious and unjust discrimination against the citizens of that nation, now lawfully resident in this State. After a careful reading of the treaty it is the opinion of the author that the contention of the Japanese Government is well founded in fact and law and that justice demands a repudiation of existing restrictive legislation in the State. In lieu of such repudiation the only just thing to do would be to make restrictive legislation apply impartially to all aliens, or grant the right to become citizens to all who could qualify.

“H. H.”

THE NEW MONROE DOCTRINE

At a recent Panama-Pacific International Exposition luncheon held in San Francisco the subject of discussion was the New Monroe Doctrine. Commissioner P. E. Quinn of New South Wales and Commissioner Niel Nielson of Australia were the guests of honor. This so-called New Monroe Doctrine turned out to be nothing other than the idea of the dominance of the white races on the Pacific, which is said to require a sort of Pan-white Alliance both for defensive and offensive purposes; a combination between the English speaking people of New Zealand and Australia and the United States to secure "the absolute peace of the Pacific." For we were assured "the defense of the Pacific is a problem that has to be faced." In commenting upon these speeches a San Francisco editor remarks that "it is valuable for the world to know that there is a mutual understanding between the English speaking races facing on the north and south Pacific, in regard to the vital problem of peace on the Pacific ocean."

It was intimated in one of the speeches above referred to that the Australasians felt chagrined over the concentration of America's Pacific trade relations with Japan and China.

In view of these statements I suppose we are quite

justified in concluding that the Pacific ocean is about to become the liquid theater of a tremendous struggle; that the problem of the peace of this old ocean must be faced, for it is in imminent danger, and that the source of this danger is in Japan and China.

We have been hearing such warnings or threats, or whatever you wish to call them, for the past ten or fifteen years and they are usually traceable to the same source.

It is the old story of the mastery of the Pacific and behind the language of the narrators one may easily discern the fear that Japan will gain this mastery. In a magazine some days ago we were asked to picture an army of 600,000 Japanese landing in California, coming from across the seas after a journey which would require the best part of a month for a fast ship. The audacity of such a suggestion is only equaled by its utter impossibility. If it took Kuroki three months to bring 40,000 men across the Korean Straits, and Italy six weeks to land a similar number in Tripoli, after one day's sailing, about how long do you suppose it would take any power to land 600,000 men on the coast of California.

Surely the mastery of the Pacific would be rather a large undertaking for any nation with the present means of transportation. The friendly rivalry of nations and races may continue about this grand old ocean for many generations, but that any one nation or race should grow powerful enough to dominate its waste

waters is merely the nightmare of a distorted imagination. All good people should dismiss this suggestion from their minds forever.

But there is a serious phase to all this talk. It marks, in the first place, the beginning of mutual distrust among nations that ought to deal with each other in the most frank and open manner. Japan and England are allies, made so by a treaty first signed in 1905 and renewed in 1911. It would seem to be the courteous thing for their representatives to be at least cautious concerning such serious matters. Japan and America have been living for the past half century under the terms of an unwritten alliance which requires the exercise of the highest sort of honesty in their mutual dealings. And so one might question the propriety of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition being made a party to such misdirected patriotism, which, when carefully analyzed, turns out to be the narrowest sort of race prejudice.

And, too, when one thinks about it seriously it all has a decided tendency to make it difficult for these races, so closely allied by commercial and ethical ties, to understand each other and live peaceably side by side. We must get on together. We cannot say to the other race or nation, "Move on," for each has rights which all are pledged to respect. If it were possible to gather all the non-English speaking races together and cast them into the depths of the sea, the case would be different, but as that seems impossible, the only thing left

is to get on together. It seems a rather high compliment to pay to either Japan or China to suggest the possibility of their becoming so powerful, so irresistible, as to dominate the Pacific ocean.

It seems a far cry from such speakers as are here referred to, to the federation of the world, to the realization of the brotherhood of man, but it seems far, mostly because those who think deeply and broadly concerning international or inter-race affairs remain silent. It would seem to be the time when these, who have been so long misrepresented by demagogue and cheap politicians, should speak out, for by their silence they seem to be consenting to this specious patriotism, which at bottom is nothing but the narrowest bigotry and race pride.

CURRENT COMMENT

The following letter from Dr. George E. Tucker, M. D., Health Officer of Riverside County, will be of interest to many. It is published without comment.

It has been my experience, as well as Dr. Griffith's, who is City Health Officer of Riverside, that the Japanese camps are seldom concerned in the spread of contagious diseases. In other words, it is unusual to be able to trace any contagious disease to their locality as a source.

We have from time to time had a case of typhoid fever in a camp, but it should be understood that probably the only source of typhoid fever in this community is from irrigating canals, and the Japanese in following their occupation of working in the orange groves either ignorantly or thoughtlessly use the canal water for drinking purposes and become infected in this way.

Every camp is supplied with bathing facilities and it has been my experience that every patient whom I have attended in their homes showed evidences of having availed themselves of these facilities. Their homes are uniformly clean, likewise the beds and bedding. The Japanese are uniformly well vaccinated, usually having

several scars on each arm, and because of this precaution we never find smallpox among them.

In short, from a health officer's standpoint the Japanese people are a source of less trouble than any other nationality that comes under our jurisdiction.

George E. Tucker

ALIEN LAND LAW DETRIMENTAL TO LABOR

MR. FRANK PUTNAM.

Mr. Frank Putnam, editorial writer on the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, recently made a tour of California with a view to inquiring into the effects of the so-called anti-alien land law enacted last year by the California legislature. After a thoroughgoing investigation he came to the conclusion that the law was injurious to the cause of labor and of the trade unions. Mr. Putnam is a keen student of social problems and has for the past twenty years rendered through his writings an invaluable service to the promotion of the welfare of the laboring class. A few years ago the city of Houston, Texas, commissioned him to go to Europe and investigate into the municipal government of the leading European cities.

In a recent issue of *Reedy's Mirror*, an influential St. Louis weekly organ, Mr. Putnam discusses California's anti-alien land law from the point of view of the laborer. This is his argument:

"California's alien land law was a sop to the race prejudice roused among the labor unions by political agitators and a direct benefit solely to the landlords. It was silly, impolitic, unwise, from every social view-

point. Its effect is to force the 25,000 to 30,000 Japanese men in California into wage competition with native wage earners. Had the law not been passed, forbidding immigrants 'not eligible to American citizenship' to own land, most of the Japanese men in California would have bought little tracts—20 to 100 acres—and would have ceased to compete with American-born wage earners. The law forces them into competition as laborers and tenant farmers. Landlords exact higher rents from them than from the Caucasians. The race prejudice engendered against them forces them, in the main, to assemble in 'quarters,' whereas they are intensely eager to get out among the rest of the people and become Americanized. They ask either that the California alien land law be repealed, so that those here, and the few who may come each year hereafter, may get homes of their own, or that the naturalization law of the United States be amended, to make Asiatics eligible to citizenship—which would render the California land law inoperative against them.

"One or the other should be done. If California's workingmen, seeing how the alien land law forces them into wage and farm renting competition with Asiatic immigrants for the sole pocket benefit of the California landlords, do not demand repeal of the California law, then the American Congress should as promptly as possible amend the naturalization law. We cannot hope to retain the friendship of the Asiatic people if our laws discriminate against them. We can retain

their friendship, and avoid admitting enough of their people in any year to create a race or labor problem, by permitting the few picked Asiatics whom we allow to come here to become citizens after they shall have qualified for that privilege."—*The Japanese-American News*, August 2, 1914.

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BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
JAPAN SOCIETY OF AMERICA

THE FAR EAST IN THE
EUROPEAN WAR

BY
K. K. KAWAKAMI

SEPTEMBER 1, 1914 BULLETIN NO. 2
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“The object of this Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to the Empire of Japan; to foster and encourage a cordial relationship between the peoples of America and of Japan; to cultivate and spread a knowledge of the arts and industries of Japan, together with its language, history, folklore and customs; and to these ends to hold exhibitions from time to time; to invite lecturers and to convene meetings for informal discussions.”—*Constitution*.

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THE FAR EAST IN THE EUROPEAN WAR

An address delivered at the San Francisco Y. M. C. A. on Wednesday evening, August 19, 1914, by K. K. Kawakami, Manager of the Pacific Press Bureau, Author of "Asia at the Door," "American-Japanese Relations," etc.

At the outset I wish it understood that I have no desire to take sides with either England or Germany, either Austria or Russia. I hope I am not a partisan. Fate decreed that I should be born a Japanese, but it is my desire to be a citizen of the world. If you expect me to discuss the European situation from the Japanese point of view, you will be disappointed—I shall not do that. I shall discuss the question from the point of view of a man who is faithful to the country of his adoption, a country which has been wise enough and fortunate enough to keep its hands off the entanglements of European diplomacy. I am but a small, insignificant particle thrown into the great melting pot of the races—

which is the United States, and I have learned to love all my neighbors, whether they come from Germany or France, England or Russia, Austria or Servia. Not only that, but I have equal respect and admiration for those nations which are now unfortunately confronting each other on the field of battle. I know that Germany is perhaps the best governed country on earth; that her municipal administration is a model of efficiency; that her government, though suffused with a hue of autocracy, is in reality the most democratic in the world. I admire the wonderful organizing power of the British nation; I have sympathy for the Servians who are ostensibly fighting for the preservation of their autonomy and independence. And yet the Austrians, on their part, have grievances against Servia which seem not altogether unfounded or unreasonable—my only regret is that Austria could not have been a little more patient in her efforts to seek remedy for such grievances.

Let us, then, refrain from displaying rancorous feeling in criticizing either of the warring factions. As members of a great republic which has managed to keep aloof from European complications, let us look at the unhappy situation in a kindly spirit, forgetting that we are Japanese or Germans or Britons or Servians, but remembering only that we are Americans.

You have already heard the other speakers discuss

the European war—its inception, its significance, its possible outcome. I know that I have no new information to offer you as far as the history of the events which led up to the war is concerned. Had it not been for the fact that I am somewhat familiar with the contemporary history of the Far East, I would not have ascended this platform. It has been my hope that the stage of war would be restricted to Europe, but it has at last extended to the Far East. How fortunate it would have been, had the European situation remained in such a stage as would not call for the employment, in the present discussion, of the meager knowledge which I possess of Far Eastern affairs!

ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE.

It is plain to you, I hope, why Japan had to enter into the conflict, which is primarily staged in Europe. It is no other than the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance which has compelled Japan to request Germany to withdraw from the Far East. Upon the Anglo-Japanese alliance, then, hinges the whole Oriental situation in the present world crisis.

That remarkable pact, the Anglo-Japanese alliance, was first concluded in February, 1902. It was renewed in August, 1905, when the peace conference at Portsmouth was still progressing. In July, 1911, the alliance treaty was again renewed.

The first alliance had for its object the maintenance of the status quo in the Far East; when it was renewed in 1905, it took on a new form and appeared as a defensive alliance, in which each side pledged itself to help the other in the case of attack. The second alliance, therefore, was directed obviously against Russia, for it was at that time, only from Russia that either Japan or Great Britain expected an attack. Viewed from the standpoint of the Russian advance in the Orient, the Anglo-Japanese alliance was of mutual advantage to Japan and England. Thanks to that treaty, England was free from the fear of Russian attack upon the northern frontier of India. Thanks to that treaty, England was enabled to withdraw the major part of her squadron from Chinese waters. And thanks to that treaty, the Russian absorption of Manchuria was prevented, and the territory of China maintained its integrity as well as it could be maintained under the circumstances.

Time, however, has changed the diplomatic relations in the Far East. During the past few years Great Britain has become a friend of Russia, while Japan has also succeeded to some extent in healing the hurts which Russia was nursing as the result of the war. Why, then, did Great Britain wish to renew the alliance in 1911? It was because Great Britain was in apprehension of German domination in world politics and commerce. As Germany ap-

peared to England to loom up ominously upon the horizon, the danger of Russian incursion into the British sphere of influence became far less imminent. To cope with the growing naval power of the German Empire, Great Britain had to muster in European waters as many of her warships as possible. Not only that, but Germany has in the Far East a formidable naval base from which she can easily send an expedition to British possessions in that region. It was, therefore, with an eye upon Germany that England desired to renew the Treaty of Alliance in 1911.

This, then, is the history of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The object of the alliance is set forth in the preamble thereto, as follows:

1. "The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India.

2. "The preservation of the common interests of all powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China.

3. "The maintenance of territorial rights of the high contracting parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India and the defense of their special interests in the said regions."

So much for the object of the alliance. Then, in the third article of the treaty the duty of each High

Contracting Party towards the other is prescribed in the following terms:

“If by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action wherever arising on the part of any power or powers, either high contracting party should be involved in war, in defense of its territorial interests or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this agreement, the other contracting party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common and make peace in mutual agreement with it.”

From these provisions it is fairly clear that in the present European crisis Japan is bound to come to the rescue of Great Britain in the Far East. I think that Mr. George Corse, general agent in the Orient for the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and several American railway companies, voiced the true sentiment in Japan, when he said that should British interests in the Far East be threatened by Germany, Japan will hurry to their defense, for the Japanese has a high sense of treaty obligations. In a press interview in New York, Mr. Corse said: “If Germany should menace or attack Hongkong, Japan, by terms of its treaty with England, would be bound to come to its assistance, and all I can say is that the Japanese would fight for Great Britain as if they were fighting for themselves. They have a high sense of an obligation of that kind, and there have

been so many harsh criticisms of the commercial honor of the Japanese that a man who is closely associated with them feels bound to say this in their defense."

GERMAN SEIZURE OF KIAU-CHAU.

With the dispatch of an ultimatum by Japan to the German Government the eye of the world is fixed upon the German possession in the Far East, which is called Kiau-Chau, for that small stretch of territory is the German stronghold in the Orient which the allied forces of Great Britain and Japan will try to demolish. So Kiau-Chau is the key to the whole situation in the Far East. It is, therefore, necessary to understand how Germany acquired that territory and how other powers—Russia, France, England, and Japan—regarded the German acquisition of that territory.

The German occupation of Kiau-Chau in 1898 was Germany's little game in the Far East. The shrewdness and audacity which the German displayed in that game startled the Russian who had also fixed his eye upon the same territory. Great Britain not only saw in it a menace to her commercial and political interests in the Orient, but regarded it as the first wedge driven into the decaying structure of the Celestial Empire. For the German occupation of Kiau-Chau set a new prece-

dent which at the time appeared to spell the dismemberment of China. Before that incident no power dared openly to occupy Chinese territory. True, England had established a settlement in Hongkong, but that settlement, though enjoying extraterritoriality, was still under the sovereignty of China and was regarded, in name at least, as part and parcel of the Chinese Empire. On the other hand, Kiau-Chau, in virtue of the treaty of March 9, 1898, became virtually part and parcel of leasing Chinese territory for ninety-nine years, I British settlement of Hongkong is par excellence a commercial establishment, but the German territory of Kiau-Chau is essentially of political nature. Kiau-Chau is the first fortified colony ever established by an European power in China. The idea of leasing Chinese territory for ninety-nine years is, I repeat, originated with the German, but when the idea was once launched, it was promptly adopted by Russia, which established a lease in the Kuantung peninsula, in Southern Manchuria.

Now I must tell you how Germany occupied Kiau-Chau. In the autumn of 1897 two German missionaries belonging to the mission of Bishop Anzar were murdered in the province of Shantung. Bishop Anzar conferred with Baron von Heyking, the German minister in Peking. The Baron had his instructions immediately telegraphed from Berlin, ordering him to press for the fullest and most exact-

ing reparations on the part of China and to be satisfied with nothing less. Almost simultaneously with the presentation of the German demand to the Chinese Government, a German squadron suddenly appeared in Kiau-Chau Bay and landed a strong detachment of marines and hoisted the German flag. On March 6, 1898, Germany compelled China to sign the so-called "murder convention" with its supplementary railway and mining concessions.

This Chino-German convention consists of five articles. It confers upon Germany the lease of two hundred square miles of land at Kiau-Chau for a term of ninety-nine years. It gives Germany the right to erect forts and build dock yards in that territory so as to promote the interests of her newly-acquired coaling station. But even more important than these provisions, are the articles of railway and mining concession, which are an appendix to the Kiau-Chau convention. After giving Germany extensive railway and mining concessions in the province of Shantung, the final clause of the four articles of concession definitely states that "if at any time the Chinese should form schemes for the development of Shantung, for the execution of which it is necessary to obtain foreign capital, the Chinese Government, or whatever Chinese may be interested in such schemes, shall, in the first instance, apply to German capitalists."

This leaves China in a helpless position, giving

Germany the monopoly to exploit the province of Shantung. This move of Germany's was very distasteful to Russia, in spite of the fact that only a few years before the Muscovite Empire acted in unison with Germany in the scheme to drive the Japanese out of the Liao-tung peninsula, ceded by China to Japan as a spoil of war. So the Russian Government instructed the Chinese Government to delay the conclusion of the Kiau-Chau convention with Germany, addressing to the Berlin Government, in the meantime, a series of protests in a sharp tone of remonstrance. But the German Emperor proved himself equal to the situation. It was when the Kiau-Chau question was being discussed that one of those memorable meetings between Kaiser and the Russian Emperor took place, as the result of which all danger of a Russo-German conflict disappeared. For in that meeting Russia agreed to connive at the German occupation of Kiau-Chau, while Germany agreed to permit Russia to occupy the Liao-tung Peninsula, from which they had just ousted the Japanese.

Such was the game played by Germany and Russia. To the Japanese the anomaly of the game was particularly obvious. Only two years before Germany had, in the name of the peace of the Far East and the maintenance of China's territorial integrity, preëmtorily ordered Japan to quit the Liao-tung Peninsula which Japan had rightfully

obtained from China. So when the poor Japanese awoke one fine morning only to find the German flag flying over Kiau-Chau, he rubbed his eyes, wondering what under the sun could be the matter with the German, who had only a short while ago lectured to the Japanese so diligently about the peace of the East and the integrity of China and all that. For the life of him he could not see why he should be scolded so severely by the big powers for doing things far more reasonable than what those big powers, presumably with higher standards of ethics, were doing in China with impunity. The truth is that the Japanese had not enough sense of humor to see the comical part of the German performance.

Since Germany occupied Kiau-Chau she has expended enormous sums for its improvement and fortification. Tsing-tao, the capital city of Kiau-Chau, is perhaps the most strongly fortified foreign colony in the Far East. Surrounding the city there are twelve formidable forts, the construction of which taxed the ability of the greatest military engineers of Germany. Machine shops and military depots have been erected in large numbers, and barracks have been built to house more than six thousand men. All this has been done slowly, methodically, and with infinite caution, in order to avoid the chance of exciting the jealousy and suspicion of other powers. Kiau-Chau has been so much out of

the "beaten track" or the ordinary route of trade and commerce, that the outside world has known very little of the grand scale on which that territory, and in particular Tsing-tao, has been developed and fortified. If the Japanese, unfortunately, have to take the place by force, it will undoubtedly call for an enormous sacrifice on the part of the attacking forces.

GERMAN RIVALRY WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

I have said that the German occupation of Kiau-Chau was extremely distasteful to Russia and Japan, but the nation which regards German activities in China with the profoundest apprehension is Great Britain. As an example of how the Englishmen feel about German competition in the Far East, I quote the following passages from a remarkable book written by an Englishman who spent many years in China. Says this author:

"From Kiau-Chau the peaceful campaign against China can easily be directed. Already the German railway to the Shantung provincial capital of more than 330 miles has been completed and is in perfect working order; already two coal mines are turning out coal in increasing quantities, and other mines are being opened up. In the summer of 1904 I met German engineers at Kaifengfu who had completed the

survey from Chinanfu to the Honan capital, a distance of 330 miles. In Tientsin it was the same story—the survey of the Tientsin-Chinanfu railway has been completed and is being pushed down far south into Kiangsu province on the way to Yangtsu. Nor is this all. The Germans have surveyed the Chefu-Liachoufu districts and are quite prepared to link them up with Tsing-tao, in the hope that such a course would kill Chefu and its importance to British trade and drive all traffic and trade to the German port of Tsing-tao. * * * * All signs make it quite clear that Germany not only hopes to succeed England in China but is bent on a forcible attempt if such a proceeding is possible. * * * * Turning from the immediate consideration of Shantung and North China much the same state of affairs prevails today in the Yangtsu Valley. Germans are everywhere asserting themselves, not in legitimate ways, and are attempting to secure for themselves a position which neither their commerce nor their international dealings justify. * * * * The German programme is as clear as the light of day. In a few years another naval base somewhere in the region of Swatow will be required, and then, linked by a system of German railways, a huge slice of Northern, Central, and Southern China will be ruled from Berlin.

It may seem nebulous and vague to those who sit in the darkness of blissful ignorance far away, but it is patent to those whose business it is to follow audacious empire plans. Tientsin will mark the extreme northern limit of this ambition; Kiafengfu, the northwestern; Hankow the central west, and Swatow the extreme south. Including, therefore, the greater portions of nine or ten provinces of China, the German programme is so plain that it clashes directly with no other power in the world but England."

This, I think, is the general attitude of the Englishman toward German activities in China and the Far East in general. Great Britain feels more seriously than any other nation the effects of German incursion into the political and commercial world of China. Before Germany planted her flag at Tsing-tao British influence was paramount in China. But the German turned the tables and today the Briton is no longer sure of his ability to hold his own against the steady onslaught of his new competitor. Not only is Great Britain fearful of German rivalry in the field of commerce, but she discerns in the German occupation and fortification of Kiau-Chau the mailed fist of the Kaiser. More seriously than Japan, more seriously than Russia, more seriously than France, is Great Britain concerned with increasing German influence in the Far

East. What wonder that England is anxious to stay the German advance in China?

I have described the relative positions of Germany and England in China, because a knowledge of these positions is essential to an intelligent understanding of the latest development of the war. You will not fail to see why England is so anxious to drive Germany out of China, if you will carefully follow the history of the relative advance of the two powers in that region.

GERMAN POLICY AND THE UNITED STATES.

From a non-partisan point of view, I think that German activities in China are not an unmixed good. Let me repeat that Germany was the first nation to slice a piece out of the huge melon of China, and establish there a colony which was as much military and political as it was commercial. Let me repeat that the German territory of Kiau-Chau is the first fortified colony ever established in China by a foreign power.

It is important to bear in mind that this method of acquiring Chinese territory initiated by Germany is in contravention of the traditional policy which the United States has been following in dealing with the Far Eastern nations, and especially with China. American policy in China is summed up in what

is commonly designated the "open door," having for its corollary the maintenance of the territorial integrity of China.

The "open door" principle is in reality the application of the Chino-American treaty concluded by Anson Burlingham in 1868, but it was the late Mr. John Hay who invested the "open door" with a definite meaning according to the needs of the times. When Germany seized Kiau-Chau, followed by the Russian occupation of the Liao-tung Peninsula, Secretary Hay saw a serious menace to the territorial integrity of China, and he made it the definite policy of the United States to preserve China's integrity and political autonomy. That illustrious American Secretary of State instructed at various times from September sixth to November seventeenth, 1899, American ministers in France, Germany, Great Britain, Russia, Italy, and Japan to request the governments of said powers to give formal assurance that the principle of the "open door" would be strictly adhered to even where a sphere of influence had actually been established. On July 3, 1900, Mr. Hay again called the attention of the powers to the purpose of the United States "to seek a solution which might bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve its territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights granted by treaty and international law and safeguard to the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts

of the Chinese Empire." Mr. Hay's successors in the State Department have in the main followed his policy in regard to China and have on more occasions than one initiated international action in favor of China.

I have reviewed the diplomatic history of the Far East with particular reference to the present European situation, and I ask you to draw your own conclusions as to why Japan had to enter into the conflict. I may, however, add that the Japanese Government, judging from the assurances of Count Okuma and the Foreign Department, entertains no territorial ambition in China. It is fortunate that Japan's ship of state is at this critical moment being engineered by an enlightened statesman like Count Okuma, the Grand Old Man of Japan. The Count is an ardent advocate of international peace and is the founder of the Peace Society of Japan, of which he is president. It is characteristic of him that when the California question became acute two years ago he assembled at his mansion not politicians nor militarists, but the foremost scholars, educators, and religious workers of the empire and asked them to discuss the means by which Japan might find the way out of the California dilemma peacefully and honorably. A man of strong convictions, the Count does not hesitate to drive the chariot of state over rough and untried roads, but his convictions are based upon sound common sense and a keen sense

of justice as well as a broad survey of world conditions. He hitches his wagon to the star, but he is also careful that the wagon is sound for the journey. There is no doubt that in the present world conflict the enlightened Premier of Japan is acting in clear conscience, and means every word that he has uttered in regard to the question.

TEXT OF KIAU-CHAU CONVENTION.

I conclude this speech by reading the following extract from the Kiau-Chau convention concluded between Germany and China on March 6, 1898:

Rights Ceded to German Troops.

China engages to permit the free passage of German troops at any time within a zone of 50 kilometres surrounding the Bay of Kiau-Chau at high-water (amounting to about 200 square miles). China abstains from taking any measures, or issuing any ordinances therein without the previous consent of Germany. China shall place no obstacle in the way of any regulation of the water courses which may prove to be necessary.

Territory Leased.

China cedes to Germany on lease provisionally for 99 years, both sides of the entrance to the Bay of Kiau-Chau. Germany engages to construct, at a suitable moment on the territory thus leased fortifications for the protection of buildings to be constructed there, and of the entrance to the harbor.

China Cedes Sovereignty.

In order to avoid the possibility of conflicts, China will abstain from exercising rights of sovereignty in the ceded territory during the term of the lease and leaves the exercise of the same to Germany.

Return of Leased Territory.

Should Germany at some future time express the wish to return Kiau-Chau to China before the expiration of the lease, China engages to refund to Germany the expenditure she has incurred at Kiau-Chau and to cede to Germany a more suitable place. Germany engages at no time to sublet the territory to another power.

Chinese in Leased Territory.

The Chinese population in the ceded territory shall at all times enjoy the protection of the German government, provided that they behave in conformity with law and order; unless their land is required for other purposes they may remain there.

If land belonging to Chinese owners is required for any other purpose the owner will receive compensation.

Railway Concession.

China sanctions the construction by Germany of two lines of railway in Shantung. The first will run from Kiau-Chau and Tsinanfu to the boundary of Shantung Province via Wei-hsien, Tsinchow, Pashan, Tsechuen and Suiping. The second line will connect Kiau-Chau with Chinchow, whence an extension will be constructed to Tsinan through Liawu-hsien. The construction of this extension shall not be begun until the first part of the line, the main line, is completed.

Mining Concessions.

China will allow German subjects to hold and develop mining property for a distance of 31 li from each side of these railways and along the whole extent of the line.

Preferential Treatment Promised Germans.

China binds itself in all cases where foreign assistance, in persons, capital, or material, may be needed for any purpose whatever within the province of Shantung, to offer the said work of supplying of materials, in the first instance to German manufacturers and merchants engaged in undertakings of the kind in question.

"Resolved, That Japanese Coolie Labor Should Be Excluded From
Continental United States."

A Debate

BY THE

Junior Philhistorian Debating
Society

OF

St. Ignatius College

LYRIC HALL

MAY 4, 1908.

PRESS OF THE JAMES H. BARRY CO
212-214 LEAVENWORTH ST.



JULY, 1908

A DEBATE

By the

JUNIOR PHILHISTORIAN DEBATING SOCIETY

—of—

ST. IGNATIUS COLLEGE,

Lyric Hall, May 4, 1908.

Resolved, That Japanese Coolie Labor Should Be Excluded from Continental United States.

The affirmative was maintained by Edgar J. Sullivan and C. Harold Caulfield; the negative by Vincent B. Vaughan and Joseph D. Toohig. Superior Judge Frank J. Murasky presided, and Benjamin F. McKinley—donor of the medal—Charles A. Sweigert and Frank I. Barrett acted as judges.

The debate was won by the affirmative, Mr. Caulfield receiving the gold medal. Mr. McKinley, who rendered the decision, on behalf of the other judges complimented all the debaters and remarked that the judges were surprised at the possibilities underlying the subject discussed.

1st. Affirmative

Exclusion a Wise Measure for Economic Reasons

BY C. HAROLD CAULFIELD.

Mr. Caulfield opened the debate and said:

The question to be discussed is a new and important one. New, because it is just now the subject of diplomatic negotiations between the respective governments, and it affords us keen pride and pleasure to outline the policy our Government should pursue in the matter. Important, because it affects, directly, a vast and wealthy section of our country—the great States of the Pacific seaboard, and affecting also, quite as directly, the political economy and constitutional history of the whole North American continent, since it involves the inauguration and perpetuation of a new national domestic policy undreamt of by the fathers of this republic.

Chinese coolie laborers were excluded from continental United States twenty-five years ago and at the present time the Japanese coolie is occupying the attention of our people to the same extent that the Chinese did in the past. The same issues that were involved in Chinese exclusion are involved in Japanese exclusion.

The question is important also because of future commercial and political relations with Japan, and stress may be laid upon the belief that to exclude Japanese of any class will incur the displeasure of Japan. The fallacy of that line of argument will be shown later on.

In discussing this great question we shall take no unfair advantage by playing upon the emotions or anti-Japanese feelings of the audience. We propose to discuss the question upon its merits.

In studying the subject I have found four distinct definitions to the word 'Coolie.'

First. I find the name applied to the laborer of India and Eastern Asia, who, in the famous Coolie trade, of the middle of last century, was a

down-right slave—of course we do not propose to prove that such slavery exists at present.

Second. I find the word to mean an alien contract laborer, i. e. 'a person who has been induced, or solicited, to migrate to this country by offers, or promises of employment, or in consequence of agreements, oral, written or printed, express or implied, to perform labor in this country, of any kind skilled or unskilled.'

That Japanese laborers are brought into this country, under contract, we can easily prove from the various reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration. Of course it is not our intention to argue about contract laborers, this importation being in direct violation of the Alien Contract Labor laws, and consequently would leave little room for discussion.

Third. This definition is merely that of an unskilled laborer, namely of one who toils for his subsistence by the labor of his hands without any mechanical ingenuity, such, for example, would be farm hands, fishermen, peddlers, laundrymen, servants, etc., in a word all those engaged in the rough substratum work of the farm, the mine, the factory and of all other industries. Now, this is the class, especially, that constitutes the menace to the American workingmen—that is a danger to the industrial peace and prosperity of the country, and that should be excluded. Of these countless hordes of undesirable aliens we propose to argue.

Fourth. The last meaning of the word Coolie—not quite generally accepted—is that of a skilled laborer, viz.: of a manual laborer with a high degree of mechanical ability, such as all the building tradesmen, machinists, etc. But as the number of such immigrant alien laborers is insignificant and their competition practically nil argument would be wasted on them.

We speak therefore only of unskilled Japanese laborers and not of the exempt classes, teachers, students, merchants, diplomatic agents and travelers. With these 'exempts,' as they are called, we have nothing to do.

By the word 'excluded' in the question we of the affirmative contend that **absolute** exclusion is meant and not **partial** exclusion nor mere **restriction**, and to rebut our argument our opponents must stand for **free** immigration, not **restricted** immigration. Again, the question reads 'Continental United States' excluding our insular possessions and the Canal Zone; with these dependencies we shall have nothing to do.

A careful examination of the question uncovers three main issues: 'Is the policy of exclusion a wise one?' 'Is the Coolie desirable for economic reasons?' and 'is he desirable for social reasons?' It will be my part to deal with the first two considerations, while my colleague will treat the latter.

The Policy of Exclusion Is a Wise One.

Experience we are told is the best teacher. For experience in this matter we must see how well exclusion has worked in the case of the Chinese coolie. The exclusion of the Chinese had the desired effect but the fruits of the various exclusion acts were enjoyed by the people of the Pacific Coast for a short time only. Immediately after the decrease in the number of Chinese, another, and a greater evil followed closely upon their retreating footsteps. This evil—the Japanese coolie—crept in so easily, so gradually, so secretly, that its danger was not fully recognized, by the people at large, until after the year 1890. It may be advanced that the exclusion of Japanese coolies is contrary to American principles, that it is unconstitutional, that it is against the agreement made with Japan in the Treaty of 1894, and

that it will cause the displeasure of Japan and thus we shall forfeit our best commercial interests with that nation.

In regard to exclusion of Japanese being contrary to American principles and in violation of the Constitution I dissent most emphatically. The supreme law of any nation is 'Self Preservation'; the right of every nation to regulate, without interference, the coming of aliens into its territory has been universally recognized in every age. It is a right that we as a nation have claimed and exercised in the past and still claim and exercise. The latest decision of the United States Supreme Court upon the subject was handed down in a test of the Scott Exclusion Act of 1888. In that decision the august body said: 'The right of a country to exclude aliens from its territory is necessary to its independence and any permission it may have given aliens to come here is revocable at its pleasure.' (Applause.)

By that decision, humanitarian dreams of the equality of all men of all races and degrees of civilization were retired into the background—the difficulty of applying such principles to the problems of social life had been experienced. Two questions now suggest themselves, and I would ask the gentlemen of the negative to reply to them: '**Was the exclusion of Chinese** by this Government unconstitutional?' and, 'If the entire laboring class of Japan were to come, at once, to this country, would our Government be constitutionally powerless to check the influx because of the doctrine of expatriation?'

In regard to the assertion that exclusion would violate our treaty with Japan and that in consequence we would lose our commerce in the Far East I will answer by quoting the last paragraph of Article II of that treaty. It reads as follows:

"It is, however, understood that the stipulations contained in this and the preceding article do not in any way affect the laws, ordinances and regulations with regard to trade, the **IMMIGRATION OF LABORERS, POLICE AND PUBLIC SECURITY** which are in force or may hereafter be enacted in either of the two countries."

So, as is said by Representative Hayes, we would not be outstepping the treaty stipulations to exclude the Japanese coolie, for that exclusion is expressly provided for in the aforesaid paragraph. We are observing the treaty, but how is Japan observing her part of the terms?—Americans are not allowed free access to the schools of Japan. They are not allowed to own real estate or engage in mining. If the business of an American requires the holding of real property he cannot purchase or hold it except in the name of a Japanese subject. I make these assertions upon the authority of a distinguished Japanese lawyer who delivered an address before the American Bar Association in New York. It is also stated upon good authority that Americans in Japan are compelled to pay double the taxes that are assessed against natives—they were forced to pay war taxes, a direct violation of all international agreements. This is considered shrewd by the Japanese; accuse them,—and they will squint and smile and consider it a compliment. Reproach them,—and they will consider it an insult to Japanese honor!

As a result of the San Francisco school controversy an amendment, known as the Root-Roosevelt amendment, was attached to the Immigration Act. This amendment provides for the exclusion of coolie laborers coming to the mainland from Hawaii, the Panama Canal Zone, or via the Canadian or Mexican border without a certificate from the Japanese Government. This amendment is based on the understanding that the Japanese Govern-

ment is opposed to the immigration of its subjects to continental United States. Direct passports, however, to this country may at any time be issued by Japan, but considering her expressed unwillingness to have her subjects emigrate hither, it is more than likely that such passports will not be granted.

From Japan's acceptance of this amendment it is readily seen that she does not object to the exclusion of her coolies from this country. It is known that the Japanese consul for Hawaii tried to prevent coolies going there, and particularly tried to prevent emigration from there here. I presume, therefore, that he must have been acting under instructions of his home government, or he would not have done so.

Foreign Minister Hayashi, a prominent politician of Japan, has said in a number of interviews that 'Japan fully recognizes the necessity of keeping her coolies at home and especially preventing their migration to this country.'

So we see that since both governments are in favor of exclusion no misunderstanding or ill feeling can arise between them. Oh, but our commerce! our commerce! You say that the merchants of Japan will boycott us and that we will lose the \$25,000,000 of trade we have with Japan. Is it possible,—O worthy judges—that for the material advantages of commercial prosperity, however great, we are ready to barter away what is of infinitely more value to us—the peace and prosperity of our working classes. No, Mr. Chairman, commerce at such a price costs too much.

We shall have our share of the commerce of Japan, but we shall have it without sacrificing the happiness or welfare of one single American laborer. No people in this country are more interested in enlarging the trade of the United States than are the men who toil in the field and on the farm, in the factory and the shop, creating the products which commerce is to carry and exchange. Every market opened to the American factory or farm is an increased advantage to the American day-laborer engaged in such production, so when we are told that there must be antagonism between labor and commerce they misapply a fundamental principle of economics—**without labor there can be no commerce.** (Applause.)

I pass now to the second part of my argument: '**Coolie laborers are undesirable for economic reasons.**'

All the arguments regarding the economic benefits to be derived from the immigration of Japanese coolies to this country proceed from the standpoint of the production of wealth. They ignore the character and social influence of the immigrant and content themselves with showing the advantages of having command of this increased labor force, which is furnished us free by Japan. Too often also they ignore a second question which, even from its purely economic standpoint deserves consideration—what effect has this constant immigration upon the labor already here? On its wages, its standard of living, its contentment? This question is no less important than the preceding one for it reaches out into the great and all important question of the condition of the working classes, of their content and discontent, and this at present is the most serious problem confronting the American nation.

In discussing the economic phase of this question I shall deal with three main issues, viz: **Japanese coolies injure American labor.** They are a constant drain on the nation's wealth. The argument that Japanese coolies further industrial development by furnishing cheap labor is unsound.

I. Japanese Injure American Labor.

Congressman Hayes sums up the situation when he says: 'As is well known, no white man can compete with the Japanese coolie. He is satisfied to be housed in such cramped and squalid quarters as few white men in any part of the world could live in, and the food that keeps him in condition would be too cheap and poor to satisfy the most common laborer. Besides, the largest percentage of Japanese coolies have no families to provide for and no children to educate.'

So much for future possibilities of danger, but the danger does not all lie in the future, some of it is here already. According to the census of 1900 there were 10,151 Japanese in this State; a census taken in 1907 placed the number of Japanese in California at 60,906. When it is considered that nearly everyone of these is a wage earner, it is plain what it means to the laboring people of our State. They are already feeling the competition of this cheap labor and in some lines of industry the white worker has been completely eliminated.

There are at present, in this city, 83 Japanese housecleaning establishments (my statistics are from the Telephone directory) while there is not a single white company in competition. How is this, you ask, since there used to be white men and women engaged in this occupation? Yes, there were housecleaning companies run by white men a few years ago, but since the Jap invaded the field the white closed his doors. The Japanese offered to do the work cheaper and the housekeepers of this city accepted Japanese help in preference to the white. Mr. Hayes says:

Statistics also show that the hours of working are very much longer in the case of the Japanese than in the case of the American, the Jap working fourteen, and often sixteen hours per day where the American works from eight to eleven hours. The farming industry is really the most important occupation invaded by the Japanese. The work on practically every farm in California is being done by Japanese—work that was formerly, and of right, performed by American citizens. This state of affairs was hardly recognized until the Japanese had gained complete control of the labor market of the farming districts. First, one or two ranches were induced to engage Japanese through the temptation incidental to cheap labor, but once in possession of the field they ceased to be cheap and no labor union was ever more despotic in its demands than are a company of Japanese laborers secure in the possession of a particular field from which they have driven competition. The planters realize this now, but their realization has come too late.'

There might be some reason for employing the Japanese if their employment benefited the farming industry in any way, but statistics show that where the Japanese are most numerous that the products of the soil have decreased in quality and quantity. Prior to the advent of Japanese laborers the Sacramento Valley was renowned for its orchards, which attracted wide attention, especially on account of superior methods of pruning and cultivating. Today there can be no boasting in that respect. The Japanese cultivate indifferently and for immediate results to the serious detriment of the property. Land values, in that valley, have shrunk one-third in the past fifteen years.

So much for their competition with men, but men are not the only sufferers, women also feel the sting of Japanese coolie immigration and the attendant competition. It has been declared by an authority on such matters—the State Labor Commissioner—that 5000 white girls have been robbed

of their employment as waitresses and domestic servants by the Japanese. If this be true, and we have every reason to believe that it is, what has become of the white girls who have lost their positions as a result of the employment of thousands of these brown servants? Into what business have they gone? Investigation fails to discover any occupation which shows a sudden influx of women. **What has become of them?**

In the second part of my economic discussion I propose to show that

II. Japanese are a drain on the Nation's Wealth.

The Japanese come here with the intention of making all they can and giving nothing in return. They contribute nothing to the support of our Government institutions because they evade the payment of taxes.

The presence of Japanese laborers in any community in any numbers brings the Japanese shopkeeper and trader and those who engage in every line of human employment and these business houses get the trade of their countrymen to the exclusion of the white stores.

One has only to look at the Japanese stores in this city to obtain the proof of these assertions. While the Japanese, engaged in every occupation and almost in every line of business, solicit the patronage of white customers, they trade exclusively among themselves, and their earnings excepting so much as is spent for necessities find the way to Japan for investment. During November, 1905, the money order business of the San Francisco postoffice with Japan amounted to \$190,000, and many other postoffices in California, notably Sacramento, Vacaville, Fresno, Watsonville, Los Angeles and Stockton did, and are doing, similar business, in proportion to their Japanese population. It has been estimated that since 1880 they have sent over \$200,000,000 to Japan.

In support of his exclusion bill before Congress Hon. E. A. Hayes said:

Just as the Japanese laborer has obtained control of the labor market so will he obtain control of the supply market, for unless the white worker is given relief from the competition of the brown man his reduced earnings will compel him to buy his necessities in the cheapest market—the Japanese general store—and then the white retail and wholesale merchants must migrate east of the Rockies because their business will be gone. On the laborer, as a foundation, rests the Japanese industrial structure, just as the laborer is the base of the industrial structure in every land. Exclude the laborer and every other condition to which we object will correct itself.

III. Industrial Development Furthered by Japanese, an Unsound Argument.

I come now to the third and last part of my economic discussion. Some people have opposed the exclusion of Japanese upon the ground that they further industrial development by furnishing cheap labor. This is untrue because low wages affect the distribution not the production of wealth. Any reduction in wages benefits the employer not the employed. Anyone who uses that argument in defense of the negative side of the question at issue is regarding the economic phase from the viewpoint of the production of wealth and entirely ignoring the effect on the working classes.

To increase wages is to increase productive power,—if this be true the converse of it is also true,—that to decrease wages is to decrease productive power.

The law is universal that wherever wages are highest there invention is the most active, production the greatest and the standard of living the

highest, while ill-paid labor means wasted and wasteful labor the world over. In the United States wages are the highest, there are more inventions, more machinery is utilized, the standard of living is the highest and production the greatest relative to population. In Japan wages are the lowest, industrial arts have for a long time been stationary, the use of machinery is in its infancy, production is relatively small, there is a low standard of living and the country is miserably poor.

* Summary.

I proved in the first part of my speech that the policy of Japanese Coolie exclusion is a wise one; first, from a similar experience of the wisdom of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Secondly, from the fact that a Japanese exclusion act would in no wise be unconstitutional and therefore opposed to no American principle; thirdly, from the fact that it is by no means in violation of the treaty stipulations of 1894; fourthly, that it would be absurd to contend that an exclusion act would meet with Japan's displeasure, since she has freely consented to the Root-Roosevelt amendment, and lastly that our commercial interests in the Orient would not suffer in the least by such legislation.

In the second part of my discourse on the economic benefits to be gained by a Japanese exclusion act I established the truth, I think, of the three following contentions: First, that Japanese coolies injure American labor; secondly, that they are a constant drain on the nation's wealth; thirdly, that Japanese coolies do not further industrial development by furnishing cheap labor.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman and worthy judges, we of California have one of the fairest spots on all the earth. It is our home and we love it. We are Americans and we are here asking Americans to protect us from an insidious conquest by Orientals, which, unless prevented by law, will overwhelm us by destroying, or rendering wholly uncongenial, the homes which we fondly hope to hand down to our children with all the holy influences that now pervade the American hearthstone." (Prolonged applause.)

2nd Affirmative

The Social Disadvantages of Japanese Coolie Immigration

By EDGAR F. SULLIVAN.

Mr. Sullivan said:

I have now to consider the most delicate, though in my estimation, the most important aspect of the question we are discussing this evening, namely—the Social Disadvantages of Japanese Coolie Immigration from a moral standpoint. Delicate—because it will admit only of a discussion of certain phases (to which I shall shortly allude). Important—because, though the economical, political, or any other aspect might be a sufficient reason for exclusion, if we had no other contention to make against the

Japanese, than the fact that they would contaminate our people, that contact with them must eventually affect our moral standards and ethical codes; that they would never assimilate with us; these must supersede all other considerations and prove an amply sufficient cause for total exclusion. Mr. Hayes, in a speech in the House of Representatives, said:

"The whole life of a nation, as R. Mayo-Smith says in 'Immigration and Emigration,' is not covered by its politics and its economics. Social science is not composed of the science of government and political economy. Civilization does not consist merely of free political institutions and material prosperity. There is a realm outside of the political and economic life which pertains to civilization, and which is covered by what may be termed Social Science. The morality of a community is observance of law and order, its freedom from vice, its intelligence, its rate of mortality and morbidity, its thrift, cleanliness and freedom from a degrading pauperism, its observance of family ties and obligations, its humanitarian disposition and charity, and finally, its social habits and ideals are just as much indices of its civilization as the trial by jury, or a high rate of wages. These things are, in fact, the flower and fruit of civilization—in them consists the successful 'pursuit of happiness' which our ancestors coupled with life and liberty as the inalienable rights of a man worthy of the name.

The main considerations therefore are these: What stamp of civilization will these people bring to us when they come to our shores? What elements of personal character have they that if stamped somewhat upon our already composite national character would add elements of strength not now possessed by us? What elements that would tend to weaken or corrupt the national life? Would their coming tend to threaten our institutions or destroy the civilization founded on intelligence, morality, equality, and justice that we are trying with some success to build up here? I believe that these are some of the questions that we should ask and answer; these are the principal considerations that should determine our attitude toward this question."

In order the more lucidly and concisely to establish my case this evening, I shall reduce my whole speech, Ladies and Gentlemen, to this argument:

I. Two races unalterably opposed to each other, racially, temperamentally, ethically and morally can never assimilate.

II. The people of America and Japan are unalterably opposed to each other. Conclusion: They can never assimilate.

III. Immigration without assimilation is undesirable. Therefore: Japanese immigration is undesirable.

There are three parts, consequently, to my speech. In the first part I must prove that two nations unalterably opposed to each other racially, temperamentally, ethically and morally can never assimilate, etc. In the second part I must prove the most important proposition of them all, viz.: That the people of America and Japan are unalterably opposed. In the third part I must prove that immigration without assimilation is undesirable.

What is assimilation? Mr. John H. Boalt in a paper entitled "The Chinese Question," delivered before the Berkeley Club in 1877, says: "By assimilation of two races, is meant the coming together of the individual members of these races, in such intimate association that there ceases to be any race separation between them, and the two finally become blended into one nation. It is the breaking down of all the barriers of race and color,

of education and prejudice, the identification of interests, the acceptance of the same laws, the adoption of the same customs and in short the admission of absolute equality, as far as race is concerned, by all, for all and among all, politically, socially and morally."

Without Intimate Social Relations Assimilation Is Impossible.

Here you have a concise definition which explains itself. I might admit that nowhere on this earth are there two nations so divergent and dissimilar, that they could not ultimately coalesce and assimilate, provided they had something in common, racially, temperamentally, ethically or morally, even in the remotest degree. But when we recall what centuries it took for the Normans and Saxons—two nations of different races it is true, but not of a different color, and with so much in common, in many other respects—when we recall, I say, what centuries it took for these people to coalesce and assimilate, when we reflect on the bloody wars, bitter feuds, and unspeakable hardships which racked the soil of England before the accomplishment of this assimilation, the thought of what may eventuate when peoples of the **utmost divergence** in every respect shall try to live together in peace and harmony, may well give us pause. The problems of self-government are sufficiently vast and varied already without adding thereto this most difficult of all tasks of statesmanship, the reconciliation of conflicting elements at home. [Applause.] We already have one race problem on our hands the solution of which no man can see, and I aver that this is enough without importing another one. We settled satisfactorily the Chinese race problem years ago, and the remembrance of what our Western States had to undergo to rid themselves of this pest ought to make us wise in time to avert a greater race problem now confronting us. [Applause.]

I asserted in my first proposition that racial differences are the causes of non-assimilation. It is a fact that there are certain peculiarities of face, form and color, which attract us, while others are most repulsive, and you can better appreciate the importance of this fact when you recall a previous assertion that assimilation is impossible without intimate cordial social relations.

So long as peculiarities exist which excite repugnance, this assimilation must ever be impossible. Also, these racial peculiarities tend to make other and less important divergencies conspicuous, and in this and other ways are constantly operating to isolate the races possessing them. Our opponents throw up their hands in horror at these assertions and cry, "Race Prejudice! Race Prejudice!" Yet race prejudice, as a prominent California Congressman says, "Race prejudice seems to be planted firmly in the average human nature. You may inveigh against it as barbaric and un-Christian, but this does not eradicate it. It would be foolish for us to shut our eyes to its almost universal presence."

I do not contend, worthy judges, that race prejudice is proper, but I do hold that there is no arguing around it; that it is deep down in human nature, and will remain with us as long as we are constituted as at present.

Temperamental Differences.

This I have also cited as a cause of non-assimilation. In order to create sympathetic relations between nations it is necessary they should unite upon a common ideal standard of excellence. It does not do that one should merely imitate the other, for the one may imitate without respect for the

other, and solely for personal advantage and advancement. Most nations have Utopian conceptions in this world, and in accordance with the nearer approach of two races to the same standard of excellence, the possibilities of conciliation are increased, as their interests are constantly converging. Temperamental similarities accustom peoples to similar tastes, habits of thought and action, manners and customs. Now, without temperamental affinity it is self-evident that assimilation is a mere figment of the mind, the fiction of a distorted fancy.

My third contention in the first proposition relates to ethical eccentricities and differences. Two peoples whose ethical conceptions are similar readily coalesce and assimilate, for economical or political divergencies give way to the soothing effects of such affinity. Thus, a man and wife may differ in opinion as regards the worth of an article, or in political views, but upon questions of ethics they must agree, else separation or degradation results. For the contaminating influences of the one must inevitably permeate the other and debase the morals and character.

By ethical affinity I mean that the two nations must be pretty well agreed on their code of ethics—must have pretty much the same ideas about the sanctity of the home, the honorableness and indissolubility of the marriage tie, the right notions concerning their duties toward themselves, their neighbors and their God, the same conceptions of their origin and destiny, and the same ideas of the intrinsic essence of right and wrong—without this ethical concordance of doctrine, I think you will agree with me that the bonds that are to unite the two races will be easily snapped asunder. [Applause.]

Lastly—I asserted that moral sympathies must hold peoples intending to coalesce and merge into one, else their union is a precarious one, and subject at any moment to disruption. I understand by moral sympathies harmony of thought and action with regard chiefly to matters religious, for in the final analysis morality is little less than religion, and one can not well stand without the other. Now, if two nations disagree concerning the existence and nature of a Supreme Being, the immortality of the human soul, the existence of a future life beyond the grave, it is hard to see what can hold them lastingly together. [Applause.]

I pass now to the consideration of the most important proposition I have to establish this evening: **The people of America and the people of Japan are unalterably opposed to each other, racially, temperamentally, ethically and morally.**

The racial aspect requires but brief consideration for Japanese are so plentiful on this Coast that we have had ample opportunity to become acquainted with the slant eye, straight hair, smooth yellow or brown countenance and dwarfed figure of the undesirable Asiatic. We all have experienced the repugnance which any thought of intimate social relations with them must create. Mr. Hayes has said:

“Although the Japanese have been coming to California in numbers for about eight years, there is yet no sign of the establishment of any social relations between them and any element of our population, and I feel sure that no matter how long they stay, or whether born on our soil or in Japan, they will continue alien and distinctively Japanese and not American. ‘The leopard can not change his spots.’ The Creator made the two races different, and different they will remain. I am aware that there is the highest authority for asserting that ‘God hath made of our blood all the nations of the earth,’ and the same high authority has intimated that ‘it is good and pleasant for brethren to dwell together in unity,’ but there is not a single

example in history of two peoples, racially widely different, living together in peace, unless one race was subject to the other or the two races were amalgamated. Under our form of government one race can not live in legal subjection to the other, and I think all students of the subject agree that the Japanese can not be assimilated."

That is what I am to-night endeavoring to prove. The Japanese differs from us temperamentally. The Japanese coolie is infinitely beneath the American common laborer in education, refinement of his manners and customs, and in environment. The American is ever progressive, energetic, striving to better his condition mentally and morally. The coolie is content to live in his little rice patch, and in America exhibits the same contentment on the farms and rural districts. I might draw any number of comparisons to further prove this divergence, but not under-rating your intelligence and knowledge of the Japanese coolie I have but to state that his ideas and ideals are as divergent and antagonistic to ours as a Japanese joss-house from a Christian cathedral. But above all, the Japanese differs from us temperamentally most in his conception of right and wrong. This brings me to a consideration of the third class of differences between the people of America and the people of Japan.

Ethics of the Japanese Coolie Question.

This aspect of the Japanese coolie question has obliged me to examine a considerable amount of data appertaining thereto—so revolting to all the time-honored traditions of our nation and all the world-wide recognized essentials necessary for civilization—so shocking in its every aspect, that I would not shock your ears with the recital of it, but must content myself with merely hinting at the less objectionable features. I will read you an excerpt from a speech made by Congressman Hayes, on Japanese exclusion. I cite it because it briefly sums up all I have read upon the subject:

"The Japanese have made such strides and have been outwardly so transformed in the past fifty years that those of our fellow-citizens who only know them from a distance are apt to be filled with unmixed admiration. A personal contact close enough and long enough to pierce the outside veneer gives one an entirely different impression, however. A close acquaintance shows one that unblushing lying is so universal among the Japanese as to be one of the leading national traits; that commercial honor, even among her commercial classes is so rare as to be only the exception that proves the reverse rule, and that the vast majority of the Japanese people do not understand the meaning of the word 'morality' but are given up to practice of licentiousness more generally than any nation in the world justly making any pretense to civilization. I am told by those who have lived in Japan and understand its language that there is no word in the Japanese language corresponding to 'sin' because there is in the ordinary Japanese mind no conception of its meaning. There is no word corresponding to our word 'home' because there is nothing in Japanese domestic life corresponding to the home as we know it. The Japanese language has no term for 'privacy.' They lack in term and the clear idea because they lack the practice."

Such are the statements of a distinguished publicist. Form your own conclusions.

American vs. Japanese Homes.

The American people have ever prided themselves upon their adhesion to the ancient legendary love for the fireside and the home circle. The American cherishes the memories of home be he a rogue or the foremost citizen of the Republic. He yearns for familiar loving faces and happy associations.

As I have cited, in the Japanese language there is no word corresponding to "home" because in the ordinary Japanese mind there is no conception of the home as we know it. A Japanese has but one legal wife, but he may have two or three other slaves if he chooses or can support them. Concubinage is quite generally limited by the extent of one's financial ability. It has of late been rapidly increasing though not recognized by law. Since the law takes no notice of it statistics do not show it. [Applause.]

The Moral Chasm.

Lastly to show the moral or religious chasm that stretches between the people of America and the people of Japan only permit me to quote, Honorable Chairman, one or two extracts from Japan's prominent men and representative thinkers on this subject. Says Marquis Ito, Japan's greatest statesman:

"I regard religion itself as quite unnecessary to a nation's life. Science is above superstition, and what is religion—Christian or Buddhist—but superstition, and therefore a possible source of weakness to a nation? **I do not regret the tendency to freethought and Atheism WHICH IS ALMOST UNIVERSAL IN JAPAN.**"

And Fukuzawa, a contemporary, says:

"Religion is like tea, it serves the social end, nothing more."

These are from Japan's greatest statesmen. Professor Clement in his book entitled "A Hand Book of Japan," tells us that all reforms in Japan work from the government downwards, and if this be true, when do you think the coolie can be reached, when these enlightened, educated gentlemen so believe? I cite this religious aspect for it is an undeniable truth that whenever a nation becomes atheistical in religion it must fall into the depths of licentiousness and decay. [Applause.]

Proof of Argument.

I come now, Ladies and Gentlemen, to the third and last part of my speech—the advancement of proof regarding my assertion that **immigration without assimilation is undesirable. And why?** Because two non-assimilating nations can not live harmoniously upon the same soil, unless one of them is in a state of servitude to the other, and this, worthy judges, can not take place under our present form of government. As a proof of this I have but to point to the American Negro and the American Indian. What was the status of the American Negro previous to the Civil War? What is it now? True, slavery has been abolished, yet the Negro to-day has to submit to such humiliating treatment that it amounts to practical slavery, not as cruel, it is true, as in the ante-war days, but quite as mortifying. There is little or no mingling or fraternizing between the Whites and Blacks—little or no relations of a social nature between them. And the American Indian? What about him? Where is he to-day? Coalesced and assimilated? **No! dead!** And what about the Chinese? Did they amalgamate with us? No, they remained and still remain to this day in their Oriental isolation, and constitute an alien element in our midst. They remain an inferior class, doing our drudgery and enjoying none of the rights and performing none of the duties of citizenship, and I see no difference between the status of the Chinese in our midst and that of the Japanese. Yet the aforesaid solution of the Oriental problem is abhorrent to the principles of democracy and incompatible with the maintenance of our free institutions. [Applause.]

Honorable Chairman, the foremost champion of the exclusion movement, Mr. Hayes, says:

"The people of America feel no hatred of Japan as a nation, nor of the Japanese who have lately been coming to our shores in such large numbers."

As second affirmative upon this floor I would hesitate to say words that might be thought unkind by our Japanese friends, but the people of America know that the ideals of most Japanese who have come amongst us are not American ideals; their ways are not our ways. Theirs is a race different and distinct from ours—very different physically; with a different religion; entirely different traditions reaching back for centuries; different ideas of the family life; and in many ways their viewpoint is totally different from ours. Any attempt to amalgamate these people with our stock would give rise to race problems more difficult of solution than our brothers of the South are now trying to solve. With the race problem of the South before them it seems clear that the American people should steadfastly exclude from residence and citizenship in large numbers any race which can not be readily amalgamated with our own stock.

Summary.

In conclusion, worthy judges, permit me to close as I began by summing up briefly the propositions I have endeavored to prove to the best of my ability, and, I trust, to your satisfaction. I proved—**First:** That two races, unalterably opposed to each other, racially, temperamentally, ethically and morally can never assimilate. **Second:** That the people of America and the people of Japan are unalterably opposed to each other in these respects, and the conclusion naturally followed that the Japanese and Americans could not assimilate. **Lastly:** I proved that immigration without assimilation is undesirable, and the final conclusion necessarily following therefrom is that version of the pending questions advocated by the affirmative. (Prolonged applause.)

The Asiatic Problem and American Opinions

BY

GEO. B. BENHAM,

Chairman Committee of Publicity and Statistics

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The Asiatic Problem and American Opinions

(G. B. BENHAM.)

Everybody knows that there are reasons why Asiatics should be unobstructed in their immigration to this country. But, our people ask, are the reasons advanced of sufficient merit to warrant their support—in other words, are the reasons good reasons? Are they such as recommend themselves as likely to be of permanent advantage to the interests of the people of this nation?

A very general discussion is now taking place upon the question of immigration; press and platform are frequently engaged in the exposition of opinion, argument and facts, and men of national and international prominence are among those making the public their readers and auditors.

Among the public men who have recently expressed their opinions are United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, and David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University. Upon the subject of immigration legislation, Senator Lodge expresses a belief in the right and power of direct action by Congress, while Dr. Jordan places reliance upon the good will of Japan, so far as the immigration from that country is concerned. Senator Lodge represents a portion of our country lying in the extreme East, and Dr. Jordan is engaged in the extreme West. Their statements are particularly significant because of their prominence in their respective spheres—Senator Lodge, an enlightened statesman, Dr. Jordan as representing the greatest privately-endowed university in the West.

In the Pacific Magazine for May of this year was an article by Dr. Jordan entitled 'The Pageant of the Ships.' The presence of a United States war fleet in the Pacific was a basis for the subject matter in part, and the article contained some references to Asia and the Asiatics which offer food for thought. The following expressions appeared therein:

"The foundation of universities, the destruction of great cities, the extinction of graft, are each epoch-making in its way. We have found out Asia for good or ill. We have discovered Asia and she has discovered us. The irrepressible West has pressed forward until it has reached the immovable East. The Yellow Peril of the East lies not in its numbers, still less in its military possibilities. It lies in its poverty, its oppression, its weakness, its conquest by disease. A prosperous China would mean a booming California. Trade follow the flag, and then only when acceptable goods are offered at available prices. Freedom rather than protection gives strength to industry. Warships are the seas' police, and a policeman in time of peace is no respecter of persons. It is not that we fear attack from Japan. The Japanese war is made in Europe, a fantasy of the yellow newspapers of Paris, a nightmare of the **professional agitators of San Francisco and Seattle**. She is too poor to quarrel with us. She loves us too sincerely to do so. Her strong men, educated by the thousand in America, have too vivid a remembrance of American hospitality to notice the rebuffs of the **sand-lot government of a single seaboard city**. As to Japanese immigration. The Japanese Government will respond to all our wishes if we express them nation to nation—as gentlemen to gentlemen. The great white pageant is a joy to all of us in California. It marks the increasing value of the Pacific Coast, its rising wealth, the growth of its manhood."

Dr. Jordan has not proven himself to have, nor has he laid claim to, any particular knowledge of the American people or of the people of Japan or of Asia. A distinguished American educator, scientist and traveler, a resident upon and presumably interested in the welfare of the people of the Pacific Coast, he has vigorously opposed anything that seemed intended to offer protection to the white people against Asiatics. That he does so express himself is neither remarkable nor surprising. We are all poor, weak human beings, too frequently led by passion and interest. Even presidents of universities are human and beset by the wiles of the world. The influence of environment and the first law of nature frequently work in common to mold thoughts and opinions.

Stanford University was founded by Leland Stanford; the money which made its foundation a possibility was accumulated in the construction and operation of the Pacific railroads. Stanford himself is credited with the statement that the Chinese were employed as an actual necessity for the completion of the railroads and to insure the necessary reward of invested capital. However that may be, Asiatics were employed and the railroads were a success; the railroads made Stanford rich; because he was sufficiently rich he could and did found Stanford University. Dr. Jordan is president of that university.

No trait of humanity is more to be admired than fidelity; and fidelity in time becomes at least a representation of principle. The friendly support and encouragement given by Dr. Jordan to the Asiatics is certainly not discreditable to him under the circumstances. It would be unnatural if he should otherwise express himself; it would be fully as surprising and quite as novel as if John D. Rockefeller were found offering arguments against railroad rebating, or if Senator Benjamin F. Tillman were to protest against race suicide at a negro convention.

Professor E. A. Ross was summarily discharged from Stanford University a few years ago for speaking at a meeting in San Francisco called for the public discussion of Asiatic exclusion. Since then no one in the employ of that university has publicly spoken in opposition to Asiatic immigration.

Some time a comprehensive history of the origins and conduct of privately-instituted American universities will be written. Those parts of that history relating to Stephen Girard, gatherer from the sea, and of Rockefeller, gatherer from the land, will be as interesting as any, but not necessarily much more so.

In the United States those who oppose the protection of the white people against Asiatics may be generally classified as (1) those who are materially interested; (2) mistaken sentimentalists; and (3) great numbers of apathetic people which stand in the way of a speedy and adequate legislative remedy.

The first class is composed of persons and representatives of interests that hope to profit financially through cheap labor; the transportation companies that make a profit by transporting cheap labor; and the sympathizers, camp followers and beneficiaries of interested enterprises and industries—these together making what is numerically the smallest factor, but the busiest and most aggressive of the three herein briefly and imperfectly outlined. Second: the hospitable and improvident sentimentalists, willing to freely donate the nation's resources and the people's liberties to any and all applicants; and equipped with proper maxims and ready-made by-laws and constitution, are impatient to organize the brotherhood of man; and others, firm in the belief

that the United States was made on purpose to be used as a permanent reservoir for the world's human overflow, regardless of race, character, morals, intelligence or prospective fidelity to our ideals and equally regardless of effects upon the people of our own race and nation. Third: the great population of the States east of the Rocky Mountains, naturally apathetic regarding Asiatics, for the reason that they have not as yet perceptibly felt the pressure of this kind of cheap industrial competition; they have not had the opportunity to personally observe the moral effects of close association with Asiatics; and have not been impelled to study or investigate the general facts and issues connected with the question.

During the early part of this nation's life, there was a strong sentiment in this country, as well as in foreign lands, that the United States of America, by virtue of its origin and institutions, was intended as a depository for all human beings who did not desire to live in any other country, as well as for those whose presence was no longer desired by other governments. This notion has been considerably impaired in reality and influence, particularly during the last 25 years, by certain Federal legal inhibitions regarding some classes and kinds of immigrants, and the recognized and growing necessity for more such legislation, especially against alien races.

Judged from the attitude and arguments assumed by many of those opposed to the exclusion of Asiatics, the exclusionists desire to perpetrate an outrageous and immoral act; to institute a law which could find no justification in international usage or general morality. But it is not so. Those favorable to Asiatic exclusion are operating according to the reputed standard of morals of Christendom, 'do unto others as you would have others to do unto you.' Exclusionists desire to keep Asiatics out of the United States, and they are perfectly willing that our people be similarly restricted regarding Asia.

There is an occasional public expression of opinion indicating that, in certain occupations and under certain conditions, Asiatics are and will be necessary in this country. In reality, however, they have no proper place among the things essential to our welfare. The employment of Chinese and Japanese has given us little assistance and many difficulties.

There are some peculiarities of the race and immigration questions which seem to be generally disregarded by the proponents of Asiatic immigration. One peculiarity is that a mark or stigma is put upon whatever is touched by representatives of any alien race. This is particularly true regarding Asiatics. An industry or occupation upon which has been placed the brand of Asiatic contamination is never taken up or resumed without disgust by white persons. This is noticeably true of urban occupations, where a white man feels that he is disgraced when under observation while doing what is generally considered the work of an Asiatic. The introduction of Asiatics into domestic service has debased that labor and driven untold numbers of women to the street. The occupations most taken up by Asiatics are known throughout the country. Capable white persons hesitate to come from the Eastern States to the agricultural regions where they know that they are more than likely to be put in competition with Asiatics in field or orchard, or to take the places of Asiatics in rural industries.

The portions of our cities occupied by Asiatics are readily recognized by the sense of smell. In the apt expression of one writer: 'It is the odor of Asia,' and it is not to be mistaken for any other. Slumming parties visit Chinatown in San Francisco, and view it as the concentration of all associations that are low and vile. With all this and more in view, white men and women do not like to make their homes in houses which have been

occupied by Asiatics, or to live or to enter into business near the residences or places of business of Asiatics. As neighbors—associates for the sons and daughters of Americans—the yellow and brown peoples have not been sought, even by those most ardent in their praise. The recent and successful revolt of the rich residents near Stanford University against the presence of Chinese is one of the manifestations of this instinctive and natural avoidance.

Dr. Jordan says the chief danger from the East is 'its poverty, its oppression, its weakness, its conquest by disease.' These are the conditions, with their results, which Asiatic exclusionists are endeavoring to exclude from America.

The race question needs nothing in the way of experimentation in America. We have had several hundreds of years of experience with the black people. It has been a long period of servility and ignorance for them, and of shame, disorder and death for us. After nearly half a century of liberty the negroes are exclusive in their places of habitation. They have made but little social progress anywhere, although they have had the advantages of citizenship, which are not, and are not likely to be, at the disposal of Asiatics. These conditions surrounding the black people obtain in both the northern and southern parts of the country. The bad effects upon the white people of the South consequent upon the presence of a great negro population are known and recognized. These conditions prevail, although the black people have been for five decades favorable to our institutions in general, while the Asiatic comes here with the curse of thousands of years of bigotry and oppression upon him, and with a manifest and undisguised love for monarchy and devotion to the monarch. The red natives of America, incapable alike of being assimilated or of becoming beasts of burden, are soon to be numbered, among the peoples of the past. But the red and black races, unassimilable and problematical as they are, never offered such gigantic possibilities for national disease and local distempers as does this threatening stream of aliens, poured in upon us from the inexhaustible fountain of human life now confined beyond the Asiatic shores of the Pacific.

Scientists, whose principal desire has been the ascertainment of truth relative to the habits of peoples and the inter-relations of the races, are practically unanimous in the condemnation of commingling and association of Caucasians with Asiatics. Upon the Asiatic and black peoples nature has set her visible and invisible marks of differentiation. To those peoples an overruling power has assigned certain portions of the earth. When their representatives are permitted to come to a country where they or their descendants are never likely to gain a real equality, their influence is necessarily immoral. Social barriers at once develop, over which the aliens may not pass and beneath which few white men or women will be found.

There is no lesson in history more plain than the results of the presence of fixed and servile classes, and the consequences resulting from the establishment of definite and impassable social lines in a community. Representatives of alien races, taking up certain occupations in which they are likely to be continued indefinitely, will establish in this country a social classification, and at least a quasi-caste distinction inimical to the free exercise of all the abilities of our own people. Race, industrial and domestic distinctions would conspire together, and fix for all unmistakable lines opposed to the principles of free government.

The original ideas of those who laid the foundation of this nation unquestionably comprehended nothing disgraceful in the performance of any kind of free labor. The United States was founded in the belief that free

institutions would give opportunity to the citizen to fit himself for the performance of any public duty, so that he would at least be entitled to strive for any place of honor or responsibility in the land. All this was what particularly distinguished our social arrangements from the conditions and customs of other nations and most emphatically from those of Asia.

'We have found out Asia for well or ill; we have discovered Asia and she has discovered us.' We found out Asia a long time before a Pacific fleet was promised, and that is the principal reason that a fleet is in the Pacific. Other people found Asia out before us, and none of the finding out has been particularly advantageous to the white man. About 60 years ago Asia discovered the United States, and the Chinese exclusion law is as yet the best result. Asia has discovered South Africa, Canada and Australia. In all these countries' protests are arising against the Asiatics, and in Australia stringent exclusion laws are now operative, and methodical preparations are being made to arm and drill every white man in the colonies as a result of the Asiatic menace. These are the results of some of the discoveries by Asia.

'The irrepressible West has pressed forward until it has reached the immovable East.' No one acquainted with the white peoples believes that they are irrepressible in the West or elsewhere in the sense that they will not deal fairly with those with whom they come in contact; nor that the East is immovable in the sense that its intelligence will not lead it to attempt to gain for itself the advantages of the civilization of the white men.

'A prosperous China would mean a booming California.' However that may be, the best wishes of every American are with the progress or civilization and prosperity in China and every country of the Orient and of the world. The exclusionists' protest is against the possibility of Asia's prosperity being built upon the debasement of our people.

Dr. Jordan's reference to 'sand-lot government' is a gratuitous gibe at our plebeian source of government. 'Epoch-making' by 'extinction of graft' is the promise often given and as frequently unfulfilled.

Some expressions of opinion have endeavored to discourage exclusion by telling our people that they may expect Japan to be very, very angry if she does not have her own way in shaping the legislation of this country. In other words, that she will resent the insult of exclusion legislation. No one expected that Japan would be pleased; but is our government in such a state of supineness that it prefers to please Japan rather than protect the immediate and permanent interests of its own people? Such a belief is abhorrent to Americans with a national pride in the history of the past, and imbued with a hope for a future of good for our people. We are Caucasians; circumstances have placed upon us an immense responsibility; we are not dealing with the cause of a city, a district or a State; our problem is that of our race for all time to come. It is useless and vain to flatter ourselves by entertaining an idea of our great national importance, if it be not true, as Mr. Bryan said, 'that this nation is able to legislate for itself upon every question without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth.' Upon the truth of that declaration rests the fabric of our national life, and in no very limited degree the career and future of human liberty.

We can not delude ourselves, and it is immoral as well as foolish to attempt to delude our neighbors. Asiatics in industry on our soil are detrimental to us. 'Freedom rather than protection gives strength in industry,' is generally true so far as the employer is concerned. By what process of reasoning are we to be led to believe that it is a good thing for our people

to enter into direct, free and willing industrial competition with those who can and do exist at one fourth our cost of living? Is it that we are expected to raise them up to our standard, or are we to go down to theirs; or are we to finally find the unhappy mean, and be about half as comfortable or twice as uncomfortable as we now are? The more freedom and mobility given to incoming servile labor, the greater the potentialities in rewards of some investments of capital. That is a rule fairly applicable in the general production of commodities, which are often made for undesignated markets. It might not operate so successfully in other enterprises, where the product is delivered to the consumer at the place of production.

Leaving the question of mere physical labor out for the moment, what if a Japanese should be placed as president of Stanford University? What if the faculty should be composed of Chinese? Or vice versa? By whom would that innovation be welcomed? By students? By prospective students? Or by the parents of either? By the people of California? By Dr. Jordan? It would not be likely to be hailed with enthusiasm by Californians, even if there should be a saving of 50 per cent in the instructors' salaries. And what would be the state of mind of the educators in other universities in regard to the reduction of salaries—'gentleman to gentleman'?

The impressive position taken by the United States in sanctioning and maintaining the so-called Monroe Doctrine, impelled no one to say anything about 'gentlemen to gentlemen,' although the Monroe Doctrine gave attention to matters not only on American soil outside the United States, but involving the interests and pride of many friendly European powers. Dr. Jordan's is an original admonition to his own country to be courteous, and it rather intimates that the United States is a bully. There is no apparent call for this suggestion, and it seems to be thrown in with the other goods intended to emphasize the deep and mysterious diplomatic plan through which we are to get nearly anything we want, and, by inference, surely anything that we ought to have, if we ask Japan.

We may be reasonably sure that the warships are not sent to this coast as a token of love for the Asiatics; nor that these ships are here merely because of 'agitators' in two Pacific Coast cities; nor because of the expressions of the 'yellow journals of Paris'; nor for the reason that there is no possibility of their use in Pacific waters; nor to facilitate Japan upon her masterful protestations of peace. In fact, it has been observed that perhaps Japan doth protest too much, inasmuch as the United States has never been credited with desiring anything but peace. 'The Japanese war' may be 'made in Europe.' But the government of the United States is unquestionably aware of immense war preparations by Japan and of the vigorous protest by our people of the Pacific Coast against the assumption and precocity displayed by Japanese on American soil.

The presence of the ships is certainly 'a joy to all of us in California.' It marks the recognized 'value of the Pacific Coast' from a national standpoint, and marks 'the growth of its manhood,' the best of which is the white man's manhood. Warships are indeed 'the sea's police,' and 'policemen in times of peace are no respecters of persons'; but the white people of the Pacific Coast feel much more at ease and secure in their persons and property when the sea's police are uniformed in white, bearing the United States emblem, and patrolling the peaceful ocean in good sized squadrons.

To not fear a possible adversary does not necessarily indicate that we wish to fight that adversary, and our preparedness is an intimation that we respect without fear. There is little doubt that Japan's present poverty means the now existing peace, for her long established friendships have not as yet

been successful in keeping her from conflicts at arms. What Japan's 'sincere love' is, no one yet knows. Japanese friendship for this country is measured very much by our national strength and preparedness for emergencies. China was big and weak; friendly Japan went upon Chinese soil and gave the yellow man a terrific beating and left him with a big indemnity to pay. Korea was little and weak; friendly Japan made a friendly call and jostled Korea into the Mikado's pocket. Russia was far from home and vulnerable; friendly Japan marshaled her armies on China's friendly soil, patrolled the friendly seas with her navy, and decisively defeated the Russians. Japan's crowding and ambitious population will force her to certain acts of expansion in time, regardless of personal friendship of officials or of national comity. Neither the Japanese nation nor its people are so unselfish, or so stupid, as to work out something for our benefit simply because they are asked 'gentleman to gentleman.' They will be guided for Japan as the exclusionists are for America—for the interest of their own people.

Mere 'agitators of San Francisco and Seattle' are not likely to have had enough of national influence to get a United States fleet into the Pacific Ocean. But it is here. Agitation there has been and agitation there will be against the Asiatics. Governor Gage of California, in a message written in 1900, warned our people against the incoming brown men; and on May 21, 1908 (since Dr. Jordan's article appeared in the Pacific Magazine, published in Portland, Oregon), Governor Chamberlain of Oregon publicly said, 'I would rather let my children go uneducated than allow them to sit with Japanese in the schoolroom.'

The present uncertain legislative policy of our government should be particularly agreeable to the transportation companies, Japan and Dr. Jordan; it is a policy which would not and could not be well assumed by the government if the people of the Eastern States knew the question, and admonished their representatives to be faithful to their constituencies. Henry Cabot Lodge, historian and statesman, in a recent public speech, gave expression to wholesome truths which indicate a clear perception of the dangers of Asiatic immigration, the immensity of the question, and a just appreciation of the power and propriety of national protection. In a speech given recently at Boston, Senator Lodge said in part:

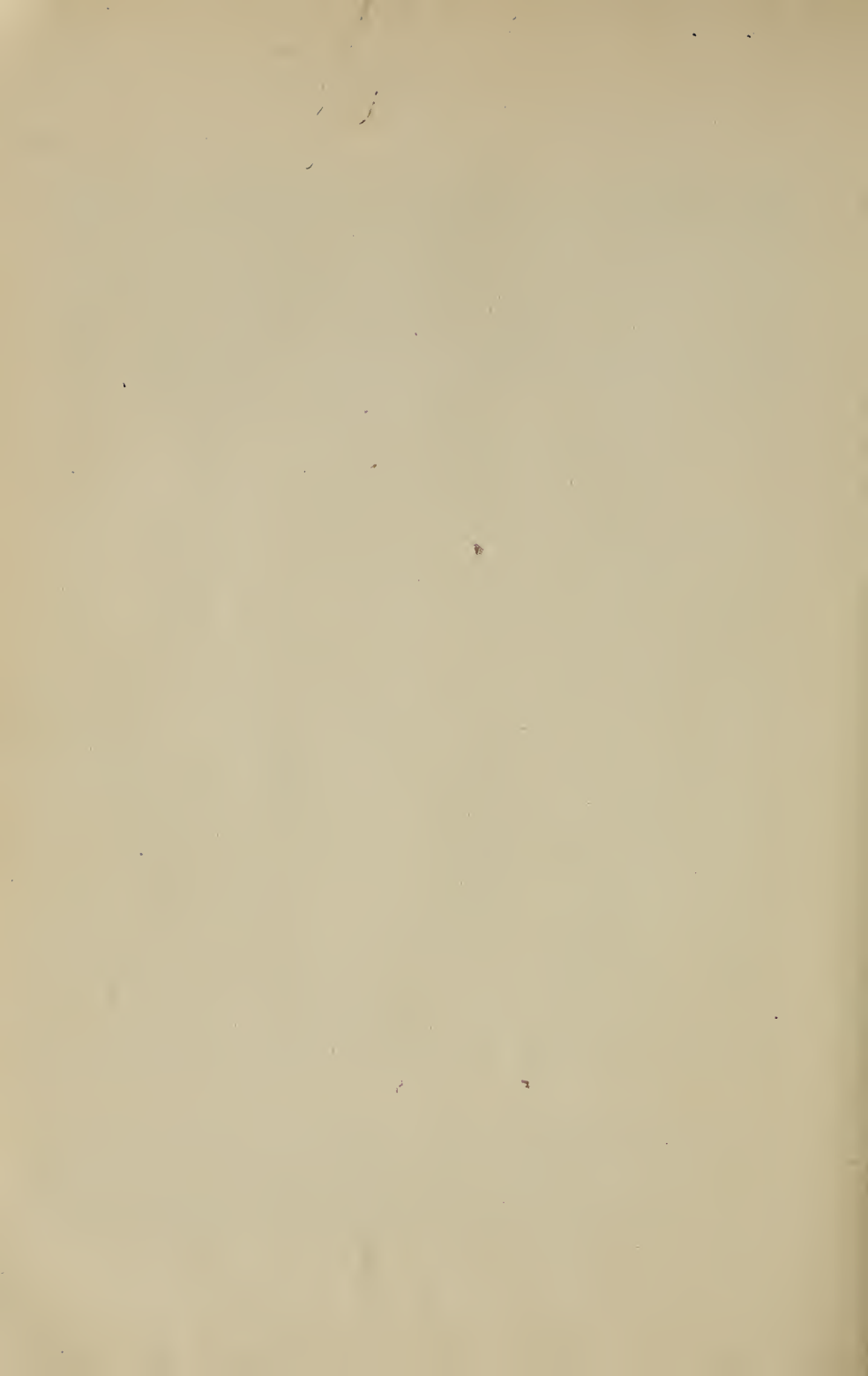
"Such a movement of people as this is, in itself, a historic event of great magnitude, deserving the most careful consideration; but what we are concerned with is its effect upon and its meaning to the people of the United States and the future of our country. The problem which confronts us is whether we are going to be able to assimilate this vast body of people, to indoctrinate them with our ideals of government, and with our political habits, and also whether we can maintain the wages and the standards of living among our workingmen in the presence of such a vast and rapid increase of population. . . . The question is just as important to the citizen of foreign birth who took out his naturalization papers yesterday, and thus cast in his lot and the future hopes of his children with the fortunes of the United States, as it is to the man whose ancestors settled here two or three hundred years ago. To all true Americans, no matter what their race or birthplace, this question is of vast moment. . . . Let me begin by making clear one point which I think is sometimes overlooked. Every independent nation has, and must have, an absolute right to determine who shall come into the country, and secondly, who shall become a part of its citizenship, and on what terms. We can not, in fact, conceive of an independent nation which does not possess this power, for if one nation can compel another to admit its people, the nation thus compelled is a subject

and dependent nation. The power of the American people to determine who shall come into this country, and on what terms, is absolute, and by the American people, I mean its citizens at any given moment, whether native born or naturalized, whose votes control the Government. I state this explicitly because there seems to be a hazy idea in some minds that the inhabitants of other countries have a right, an inalienable right, to come into the United States. No one has a right to come into the United States, or become part of its citizenship, except by permission of the people of the United States. The power, therefore, of Congress as representing all the people, is absolute, and they can make any laws they deem wise from complete prohibition down, in regard to immigration. The laws regulating immigration are of two kinds—restrictive and selective. . . . Of the wisdom of all these measures which shut out the undesirable immigrants I do not think there is much question anywhere, but there is great resistance to their enforcement, especially from interested parties, like steamship companies, and large employers who desire an unlimited supply of cheap labor. . . . I have always regarded high wages and high standards of living for our working people as absolutely necessary to the success of our form of government, which is a representative democracy. It is idle to suppose that those rates of wages can be maintained and those standards of living be held up to the point where they ought to be kept if we throw our labor market open to countless hordes of cheaper labor from all parts of the globe. This incompatibility between American standards of living and unrestricted immigration became apparent to the great mass of our people in the case of the Chinese, and the result was the Chinese Exclusion Acts. But what applies to the Chinese applies equally to all Asiatic labor. We have heard a great deal lately about Japanese immigration, but it is not a subject which ought to lead, or which will lead, to any ill-feeling between the two countries. Japan now, by Imperial edicts, excludes workmen of all nations except under strict restrictions in a few of what are known as treaty ports, and she excludes the Chinese altogether. Japan does not expect, and no nation can expect, that she should have the right to force her people on another nation, and there is no more cause for offense in the desire of our people in the Western States to exclude Japanese immigrants than there is in the Japanese edicts which now exclude our working people from Japan. Moreover the sentiment of our people is not peculiar to the United States. It is, if anything, more fervent in British Columbia than in California. The people of Australia exclude the Chinese just as we do, and it may as well be frankly stated that the white race will not admit Asiatic labor to compete with their own in their own countries. . . . In the environment of Chinese labor our labor could not long survive as we desire it to exist, and therefore, by an over-mastering instinct our people of the West are determined not to admit Asiatic labor to this country, whether it is Chinese, Japanese, or Hindoo. I think that by and by our working people of the Eastern States will begin to question whether they desire to have Arabs, who I see are planning to come in large numbers, and other people from Asia Minor and the west of Asia, pour into this country."

The true relations of Japan and all of Asia with the United States may best be expressed in terms exclusive of apology, adulation or abuse. The great sea is at our doors, ready for the purpose of commercial exchange; and ordinary prudence dictates the establishment of regulations in all countries by which the people may be benefited, without endangering the peace or lessening the legislative prerogatives of any nation. So far as the United States is concerned, her interests should be at once protected by competent

exclusion legislation, for the ends of peace and friendship are not to be aided by a mingling of races on our soil. With Asiatics among us, the fierce antagonisms engendered by unavoidable industrial and racial contests would offer ample incitement to greater conflicts; and the issues which should have been decided in calmness by law and enforced in peace, will be settled in costly and deadly strife. Death will appear where there should be life, treasure would be spent in war where treasures should be accumulated in peace. Thousands of men of both races will sink into a common grave with the best hopes of friends of the American people and of the white race—the race upon which depends the advancement of the world's commerce and industry, the culture of the mind and the encouragement of morality in every land.”

ASIATIC EXCLUSION LEAGUE.



STATISTICS
Showing Movements of Japanese

To and from the United States

For the Calendar Years 1908, 1909

and

The First Half of 1910.

Prepared by the Acting Consul General of Japan

at

San Francisco, Cal.

Japanese Immigration

Consulate General of Japan,

San Francisco, Cal., July, 1910

The following figures, prepared by this Consulate General from statistics received from the Foreign Office of the Japanese Government, show the tendency of the movement of Japanese to and from the Continent of the United States during the calendar years, 1908 and 1909 and the first half of the year 1910.

Departures from Japan for the United States				Arrivals in Japan from the United States			Excess departures from Japan for the United States	Excess arrivals in Japan from the United States
	Non- laborers	Laborers	Total	Non- laborers	Laborers	Total		
1908								
January ...	294	119	413	31	411	442	...	29
February .	321	148	469	49	479	528	...	59
March	383	157	540	28	297	325	215	...
April	368	259	627	35	337	372	255	...
May	201	225	426	27	299	326	100	...
June	165	145	310	14	274	288	22	...
July	133	148	281	23	489	512	...	231
August ...	105	58	163	18	339	357	...	194
September	103	73	176	10	292	302	...	126
October ...	77	75	152	19	582	601	...	449
November .	90	53	143	35	593	628	...	485
December ..	64	62	126	18	794	812	...	686
Totals	2,304	1,522	3,826	307	5,186	5,493	592	2,259
1909								
January ..	56	52	108	15	280	295	...	187
February ..	51	64	115	20	193	213	...	98
March	113	52	165	29	348	377	...	212
April	122	66	188	26	227	253	...	65
May	77	65	142	27	354	381	...	239
June	114	79	193	11	178	189	4	...
July	119	65	184	12	270	282	...	98
August ...	121	50	171	8	217	225	...	54
September	103	49	152	12	225	237	...	85
October ...	120	47	167	24	635	659	...	492
November	153	50	203	18	493	511	...	308
December .	105	20	125	88	828	916	...	791
Totals	1,254	659	1,913	290	4,248	4,538	4	2,629
1910								
January ..	113	31	144	9	337	346	...	202
February .	129	24	153	28	225	253	...	100
March	119	41	160	17	230	247	...	87
April	229	74	303	25	341	366	...	63
May	231	97	328	23	293	316	12	...
June	212	71	283	19	260	279	4	...
Totals	1,033	338	1,371	121	1,686	1,807	16	452

Recapitulation.

Net excess of all arrivals in Japan over departures for 1908	1,667
Net excess of all arrivals in Japan over departures for 1909	2,625
Net excess of all arrivals in Japan over departures, first half of year 1910	436

Total excess for 30 months ending June 30, 1910 4,728

Laborers

Net excess of arrivals in Japan over departures for 1908...	3,664
Net excess of arrivals in Japan over departures for 1909...	3,589
Net excess of arrivals in Japan over departures, first half of year 1910	1,348

Total net excess of arrivals in Japan for two years & half 8,601

MATSUZO NAGAI,

Acting Consul General of Japan, San Francisco.

NOTE. — The term “laborer” in these columns of departures from Japan for the United States covers Japanese who have returned to their former domiciles in the United States within six months after their departure therefrom for Japan, being mostly manual workers in the agricultural districts. It also includes the wives and children of those who now reside in the United States as laborers. Neither new laborers nor laborers whose stay in Japan exceeds six months after their return from the United States are now leaving Japan for American territory, as no passports for this class are now issued by the Government.

In the case of departures from Japan for the United States, the distinction between laborers and non-laborers is made from data gathered at the time passports are issued, when a thorough investigation is made as to the status of applicants. The result never varies far from the true condition.

In the case of Japanese returning to their home country from the United States, the distinction between the two classes can not be so accurately drawn. An arbitrary distinction is, therefore, made, based upon the passenger lists of the carrying vessels. The saloon passengers are classed as non-laborers while those in the European and Asiatic steerage are assumed to be laborers. This method is admittedly subject to some error, although it never varies far from the truth.



The Recrudescence of Japanese Agitation in California

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By

ALICE M. BROWN

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THE constantly recurrent agitation and attempts at legislation of anti-alien laws and exclusion laws has been confined to the Pacific Coast states and to certain localities in those states. A certain Oriental dislike is in the very air, and perhaps twenty out of twenty-five people never stop to analyze why this feeling should exist. The malicious, clamorous denunciations of the ignorant and greedy pass unchallenged and too often are accepted as facts. So pervading are these bitter falsehoods, that it is the easier way to move along with the mob, than to analyze the conditions and denounce such agitation. Injustice and evil forces always use bitterness and destructiveness to accomplish their ends. So it is that in local communities there are few who will come out openly and fearlessly to combat falsehood and injustice for they are bitterly assailed. There are many who have passively accepted the mob spirit, who only need to have the truth put before them to see the injustice of the agitation and regret the measures to which the racial haters resort.

This agitation against Orientals has been spasmodic ever since the days of the "Chinese must go" harangues. When the coolies of China ceased to come and farm laborers became scarce, the Japanese began to come in and take their place. They were at once characterized as being better laborers and superior workmen than the Chinese. Through their tireless industry, they began to be felt in whatever agricultural pursuit they entered. As they augmented the productivity of the soil they increased the prosperity of the community, and their own reward became apparent

in securing for themselves simple homes and better living conditions. Thus, their industry became a menace to those whites who look upon larger production as inimical to their petty interests, and they began to shout that the Japanese were crowding out the whites and warfare against the Japanese was made. Another element in our industrial life would like to fix the wage and limit the hours of labor on the farm. The Japanese are a hindrance to any such scheme of life, and so have always been bitterly assailed. Thus, this element, together with the ignorant farmer and the intolerant race-hater, have periodic spasms of alarm and consternation. They beat their drums and shout that the brown race is taking the country. This, in face of the fact that not a single Japanese laborer has come to the United States, to Mexico, to Hawaii, and though the alien land bill is so worded as to include all aliens regardless of country, it nevertheless strikes squarely at Japan, and obtains the ends of its proponents by prohibiting ownership of lands to aliens unless they declare their intention of becoming citizens, which, of course, our law forbids the Japanese to do. Thus, the bill is discriminatory and unjust, a barrier to international good-will. All at the instance of a group of agitators, biased by race lines, ignorant of the true facts, jealous of the industrial service of the Japanese, and blind to the pernicious effects on State and Nation. Never has there been less need, as far as the Japanese are concerned, for class legislation than now. They have adjusted themselves to our industrial needs and are rapidly adjusting themselves to a better social scale. They have proved themselves fitted and worthy to live among us. They fill an invaluable place in our agricultural sphere, and any attempt to legislate them out of it will result in great harm to our business conditions. It would be sheer folly to do so, the disturbance would be so far-reaching.

Why do we impose upon the Japanese a degree of exclusion and contempt we never think of in dealing with the European? Here we are about to welcome to our shores the Southern Europeans. Anyone who knows both people knows that the Japanese is the equal of the South European, and in many ways vastly superior. We obstinately, blindly, refuse to recognize the high degree of civilization, of attainment in art, education, and politics of the Oriental nations, and Japan is the most highly civilized of Oriental nations. We treat them with supercilious superiority, as if they were benighted beings. Unlike the Southern Europeans, they come to us educated in their own tongue, and with an insatiable hunger to learn our language and customs. The average Southern

European is illiterate and satisfied to be so. His spare moments are not spent poring over books, conquering a new tongue. He lacks that zeal for industry that is a marked virtue of the Japanese. He herds largely in the cities, lives in districts populated by his own people, and thus is slow to change his native customs and acquire better standards. The Japanese seeks the country, the place men are needed. He lives among the whites acquiring their customs. Nothing in the way of toil feazes him. This great State, with its miles and miles of untilled soil, is calling and demanding just such efficient labor as the Japanese. We are blind and stupid when we turn upon him for his work is making barren land fertile and productive to the State. and seek to destroy such service entirely. Race-bias and greed makes some elements rancorous. They can only reason round in a circle. They would limit production to a favored few, that they might have a possibility of getting a higher price on their product. They look upon increased production as a calamity. They would have the world stand still to favor them. The very fact that the Japanese is an industrious being, and a highly successful producer gives them spasms of alarm. "They are taking our homes" is the woeful wail, which means that the slothful must get to work. So, in their blindness, they would destroy the productivity of the Japanese, return to the past status of barren fields that their meager and inferior products would meet no competition. It is blind, selfish greed that recognizes only self as a factor in the world's struggle. It is ignorance and inhumanity that does not consider the greater whole. How can we complain of the industrious Japanese farmer endangering our social and industrial scale, when we engulf the ignorant influx of Southern Europe? Are we not straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel? It is fundamentally an American right to permit every person, alien or native born, to take part in the industrial struggle, to earn an honest living. It is un-American to raise race discriminations.

This State is primarily a fruit-growing state. The raising of fruit requires patient, painstaking toil, such persistence and attention to some products, as the whites are loth to give. The Japanese are adapted to every need of the work. They are the best of farmers, and no land that will produce fruit is too poor for their use. The most of the Japanese in this State are found in the country, especially in the harvest season. Thus, they are where the State needs them. The strawberry industry is dependent upon them. It is intensive farming, constant ceaseless work. White men cannot stand the hoeing and picking, and because the labor expense is so

constant they do not at all attempt to raise berries. The Japanese doing his own work makes it profitable. The berry industry is no small one; \$150,000 to \$200,000 worth are shipped from Florin alone in a season. That means money to be spent here, for the Japanese has to equip his farm for farming and it is no small sum. Farming means putting in as well as taking out. It is one of the farmer's complaints that no matter whether his crops are profitable or not, he has to keep putting in to get anything.

The Japanese yearn for our scale of living, and when they have the means they spend to get it. His American born children demand our foods and the comforts white children have. The Japanese parent will deprive himself to give his children, for he is proud they are Americans and wants them to grow up with our manners and customs. The children will never live on the scale of their fathers, they breathe the American spirit just as the children of other aliens do. Their alert minds grasp the details of our life and they become the teachers of their parents. We have no need to fear of any adverse effect on our social and industrial scale from the Japanese now here. Those that are now here we could not if we would dispense with; they have proven themselves too valuable a factor to our peculiar industrial needs. As for the "picture brides," we want the Japanese here to live natural family lives. A Japanese with a family is bound to be a better man. We want the home-loving man. How pernicious and petty we would be to deny an alien people so moral and civilized as the Japanese the right to have a family life. To be sure, they have not learned our Occidental evasion of parenthood, and thus for another virtue, our race haters shout they have too many children. Why is it what is laudatory in one race is censurable in another? Who is it sets up these standards of right and wrong?

In making these unfertile lands highly productive, lands the whites have scorned all these years and which would still lie barren but for the Japanese pluck and industry,—in making homes, rearing their families, and striving for a higher scale of living, they have shown themselves worthy of the right to live among us, to own their simple homes, and enjoy every right accorded any alien. If any lines of restriction must be made let it be in the limitation of the number of acres that can be owned. Allow any man, irrespective of race or color, to own or till at least ten acres of uncultivated soil. Encourage the occupation of the poorer soils by those who are best fitted and willing to work them. Make our land laws serve the best interests of the state, not the greed and hatred of the few.

Florin has been cited as an example of the need of laws restricting the Japanese. As a matter of fact, any intelligent person conversant with the history and conditions of the place knows that such prosperity as the community enjoys is due to the Japanese. Before their coming the output of fruit was meager, the bedrock soil requiring a vast amount of labor restricted cultivation. The preliminary preparation of the ground was expensive and laborious. There was no incentive to the whites for extensive planting. With the coming of the Japanese, and finding them so well adapted to such intensive work, leasing became more profitable and more satisfactory than to have the work and responsibility themselves. The idle fields were leased or sold and turned into acres of luxuriant strawberry patches or tokay vineyards. Florin began to be on the map and to be a live wire during the fruit season. The Japanese vie with each other in producing fruit to bring the highest price. Hence the quality of the product has been vastly improved. In the picking and packing of the fruit, their work is unexcelled and indispensable.

They are law-abiding, home-loving, moral, temperate, generous, and grateful. We, who live among them, find them good neighbors, ever ready to do a favor at the least suggestion. In the main their homes are rude and simple, but they only await the means to make better ones. They yearn for comforts such as ours. There are a few attractive homes, built by those who have acquired the means. They know how to make a home when they can afford it. However, their homes do not suffer much in comparison with the whites; there are few of the latter who have modern attractive dwellings.

✓ The fact that in all these some fourteen years the Japanese have been living here and with so large a population of them, not one white woman has ever been molested, is a fit test for their fitness to live among us, and speaks highly for their moral strength.

The leasing clause in this bill is most unjust and objectionable. It was drawn to destroy the farmers as well as the work of the Japanese. We are told: "let them lease the land; not buy it"; but this restriction to three years and then further that it can never be renewed, would prevent any development of new soil, any renewal of vineyards, any planting of tree fruit, and the proper care of a vineyard. When we have a good tenant, we like to keep him. They are as human as we are. Ties of good-will and friendship are formed and both parties fulfill their duties better by long association and understanding. The life of the strawberry, the briefest of fruiting plants, is more than three years. This restriction would

practically kill the strawberry industry for no one would attempt to raise them when he knew he would have to abandon the land in three years. Preparing the soil and installing pumping plants are expensive preliminaries to the work. Successful leasing must be from five, seven or nine years, according to what land is to be put under cultivation and what products are to be raised. The three years' lease, designed as a blow to the Japanese, deals a heavy blow to the fruit grower and to the State. It is not only discriminatory but it is vicious to the business interests. For this clause alone, the bill should never become a law. The injury to the fruit interests would be so damaging that business would have to find a way to evade the restriction. A law that is so destructive as to have to be nullified by honest business and by the farming class of property owners, is clearly wrong, and a moral detriment to our political life.

If these laws are designed for protection who will be the gainer? Assuming the hypothesis that the farmer could get other workmen—which he cannot—that others will till such soil as this—which they will not,—the exclusion of the Japanese might mean better wages for the workmen here, but it would also mean greater cost of production, hence higher cost of living for the whole population. The workman would be no better off, no happier, than with a lower wage and a lesser cost of production. Such exclusion would benefit one class at the expense of the many. High cost of production restricts production, high wages restrict operations. The avenues of employment are diminished, we are crippling the larger welfare for the imaginary welfare of a few. The natural laws of the world cannot be set aside. No class of men, no element of our political body can obstruct progress for any length of time. An elemental law of the world is the interdependence of one people upon another. We cannot always set up bars of exclusion and self-interest. They are but momentary thorns in the unrolling of the age for universal trade and social relations,—the age of a common humanity and understanding. Progress moves exceedingly slow but it is always onward. As education becomes universal, moral and spiritual standards similar, there will be no color line, no racial feelings of bitterness. Such passions and factors as have brought forth an alien land bill are due to ignorance and misunderstanding, not to any real need or danger. It is time that color and race distinctions were forgotten, and the human factors recognized in judging a people. It is moral and industrial distinctions that count. We get on far better with the good intelligent Japanese, than we do with the

bad, ignorant white man. We vastly prefer the former for our neighbor. In a recent article by Dr. J. Ingram Bryan he says: "Noble ideals and worthy motives never clash in society; these are independent of race, color, or clime. Both are human; the causes and factors inimical to wholesome social intercourse are common to both; . . . and both are equally amenable to right motives, habits and ideals. . . . In the presence of high moral and spiritual education, that forbidden boundary, the color line, will vanish forever. In the realm of character there never has been and never can be a color line."

In foisting upon this State such a bill as this alien law we are Quixotic. In our delusion, we would sacrifice the prosperity of our fruit industry, impede the development of the State, hazard the farmer's subsistence, put the stigma of race discrimination and injustice upon the State, interfere with our national administration, and our foreign commerce, revoke the good-will of a people and nation to whom we are bound by large commercial interests; we would make this sacrifice at the behest of ignorance and prejudice and without correcting one defect. The clashing can only be remedied by a broader humanity and common understanding, and the white race should be the first to acquire it. Such laws as this only add fuel to the flames, and hinder progress.

What must other nations think of America to overlook such an act of injustice by a State? To permit a law to be so adroitly worded that it accomplishes its purpose without showing its hand. Only by this country permitting the Japanese the right to become citizens can we save our face. That they would make better citizens than the ignorant European, any one who knows the two must confess. Educated in their own tongue, they keep abreast of the times through their own newspapers, and many have acquired facilities in using our language. The test should be educational just as it should be with every other foreigner.

This constant harassing of and discrimination towards the Japanese will only work to our injury and dishonor. The Eastern states will censure us for our injustice. They accept vaster race problems than ours without raising barriers. Other nations will join Japan in protesting against such discriminations, and the honor of the United States must precede the Quixotism of California. Whether it is local, state, or national, the welfare of society must precede the prejudice, ignorance, or greed of the few. We live in world-wide not local spheres; we must think in world-wide service; we must feel the human touch for every people, irrespective of race,

color, or clime. The very fact that the Japanese is recognized with fear in labor circles, while the ignorant European is not, indicates his superior capacity to add to the development of our industrial and national life. We must recognize their fitness and service, and appreciate their worth.

Japan, with restricted territory, of which not more than half is arable, is promulgating laws to give the rights of ownership to foreign residents, when such countries extend to them the same privileges. Thus, while she would open her little country to us, we would close our great country to her. While Japan would be progressive, California would be reactionary. Can California afford to be retrogressive on a matter of such world-wide significance? Are we not big and great enough to accord Japan equal privileges in commercial and human relations as we do to other countries? Can we be so blind to our own interests, our own self-respect, as to permit such injustice to be framed into our statutes? As a progressive state ours should be a movement for softening prejudices, overcoming ignorance by disseminating knowledge, and promoting harmony between the different races that live among us, and are equally serving the State.



Oriental Immigration

on the

Pacific Coast

by

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of the

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Oriental Immigration on the Pacific Coast.

I. INTRODUCTION.

When Columbus boldly sailed his small ships to the westward across an untraversed sea, his purpose was the opening up for his sovereigns a shorter route to the riches of the East. But Columbus was stopped in his object by a great continental barrier until then unknown to the world. For four hundred years the civilization of the western world has been endeavoring to surmount this barrier, but it has remained for the dawn of the twentieth century to see the great task accomplished.

II. POPULATIONS AND CONGESTION.

The white or Caucasian race migrated to the westward, spread its civilization over Europe, crossed the Atlantic and spanned the new continent of Columbus. To-day it sits upon the eastern shore of the great ocean. The yellow or Mongolian race went to the eastward, worked out its destiny separate and apart from the white race, and established its highest types of civilization on the western shores of the Pacific. Both races are in the main in the northern hemisphere, and, with only the ocean between them, are now facing each other.

On the farther shores of the Pacific live more than half of the world's population, a total of eight hundred millions. They are distributed as follows: Chinese Empire 450 millions, India 350 millions, Japan 50 millions. In North America west of the Rocky Mountains there live less than five millions.

The population of the Oriental countries is badly congested. The area of Japan is about the same as that of California. The former has a population of fifty millions and the latter two millions. The average density of population in Japan is 340 to the square mile, while in California it is only 13 to the square mile. A large portion of China has a density of population of over 500 to the square mile. Corea has a density of population of about 100 to the square mile, Manchuria less than 50 to the square mile. Some parts of India have a population of over 500 to the square mile and the whole of India and Indo-China will average more than 300 to the square mile. That portion of North America west of the Rocky Mountains will average less than 10 to the square mile. It would, therefore, be easy for the countries on the western shores of the Pacific to send enough of their population to the eastern shore to submerge the white race there. Are the inducements for them to do it sufficient?

III. CONDITIONS OF LIVING.

Agriculture is the occupation which must furnish a people with their food and clothing, and therefore agricultural lands are essential to the life of any nation. The area of cultivable land in Japan is less than in California. Those who have traveled through that country have noted the relatively small tracts of land which constitute a farm. Usually they do not exceed a half acre each, every inch of which is cultivated by hand. From this small piece of land the Japanese family, usually large, must obtain its

food supply and raise a money crop. The latter is frequently wheat, sown in rows, weeded, cultivated, harvested, and threshed by hand, with the simplest of implements. The Japanese farmer cannot afford to eat wheat. He must subsist on cheaper rice.

The wages paid for labor in Japan are very low. In the cities the wage for a day's work ranges from ten to sixty cents. When President Taft, then Secretary of War, visited Japan with a congressional delegation from our country, the vessel was coaled as usual at Nagasaki, the account of which has been furnished by one of the congressmen, as follows: "The ship was coaled by a force of women, who came alongside before daylight in the morning, on barges carrying the coal to the ship's side. The women then erected platforms opposite each port-hole of the vessel and forming themselves in lines they passed up baskets of coal, which would weigh about 40 pounds a basket. These baskets were filled by a few men, who shoveled the coal into them. Many of the women had infants slung around their shoulders, of perhaps a few months' age. Little children played about on the barges. They worked from daylight until the going down of the sun, and their wages were about 15 cents for that day's work. They accompanied their labor by a monotonous chant, which was very plaintive in its effect, and in itself told the story of extreme poverty, and hard conditions of living."

The wages paid for labor in other countries of eastern Asia are lower, and the conditions of living are worse, than in Japan. We all know that in times of drought and consequently short crops, in India and China, thousands have died of starvation. In prosperous times it is only possible for the great mass of the people to barely live. The laborer can lay nothing by and he is no better than the slave who toils daily for his master for the mere right to exist. Yes, his condition is worse than was that of the black slave, who was assured of food and clothing, and, for them, took no thought of the morrow. The conditions of living are so hard, and the burdens to be borne so great, in all Oriental countries, that the younger men are eager to go to any land that promises relief.

IV. ORIENTAL IMMIGRANTS.

Of the Orientals coming to this country the Chinese must be first considered. They commenced to arrive soon after the discovery of gold in 1848, and each year saw an increase in the number landed. When their numbers became so large as to be a menace, the agitation for stopping their immigration was commenced, which resulted in the federal exclusion law enacted in 1882. There were then approximately 125,000 Chinese immigrants in this country. In the five years just preceding the passage of this law, 76,461 were landed, and in the year preceding this Act the number landed in California was greater than the number of white immigrants and white births combined. In the decade following the passage of the law there were only 13,078 arrivals and in the next decade, ending in 1902, there were 16,071. In the five years from 1902 to 1907 the arrivals numbered 11,199.

The white man on the Pacific Coast thought the danger of submergence by an Oriental wave was over when the Chinese exclusion law was amended in 1888. But he had hardly settled down to his ease when the wind shifted to another quarter, and started the yellow sea rolling again. The census of 1880 showed but 148 Japanese in this country. In 1890 there were 14,399, of which 12,360 were in Hawaii and only 2,039 in the United States proper. In 1900 the census showed 61,111 in Hawaii and 24,889 in the mainland of the United States, a total of 86,000. From 1900 to 1908 109,406 Japanese were

admitted, nearly all coming to the mainland. As soon as this tide from the Japanese coast began to roll high, the Pacific Coast made a strong demand for an exclusion law including all of the yellow race. Such a law has not yet been passed, but a "gentleman's agreement" has been entered into with Japan, whereby that Government agree to refuse passports to coolies to immigrate to the United States. This has largely reduced the number coming through the custom house, but that number is believed to be larger than it ought to be. It is also gravely doubted if Japan is faithfully keeping the agreement. A similar agreement with Great Britain limiting immigration into British Columbia has been deliberately violated. Japan recognizes no "coolie" class. A large number come on passports calling them "agriculturists," and others are called "students." Whatever they are called they enter right into competition as soon as landed.

Prior to 1904 there were practically no Koreans in this country. In that year, however, came 1,906 Koreans, in 1905, 4,929, and in 1906 5,000, a total in three years of 11,835.

It is only recently that the Hindus have commenced to arrive from British India. They are of the lowest of the Indian laborers and easily recognized from the turban always seen on their heads.

V. THE UNDERGROUND ROUTE.

In this statement of the statistics of immigration, we have taken the United States Government reports. No account has been made of the numbers who come by landing first in Mexico or Canada, and then walking over the line unobserved. That this is practiced to a large extent by both Chinese and Japanese is evident. In the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration of the United States, a special agent reports that during the last year and a half 8,000 Japanese and 5,000 Chinese illegally entered this country through Mexico. He says: "Over 10,000 Japanese have been brought into Mexico in less than two years, and to-day not 1,000 can be found in that republic." In conclusion this report says: "The Japanese know that their coming to the United States with passports for Mexico, Canada or Hawaii is prohibited; yet they also know that if they succeed in entering the United States without passing an inspection, they have ninety-nine chances out of a hundred in remaining in this country." There is one instance where 2,000 Japanese landed in Mexico, engaged to work a coal mine, and within two weeks not one of them was left. Every one succeeded in getting across the border into the United States. The route only of immigration has been changed. It is now to Mexico, thence to Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and to California.

VI. ORIENTALS IN MIGRATION.

Kipling, while traveling through China, said, "There are three races who can work, but there is only one that can swarm. These people work and spread. They pack close and eat everything and can live on nothing. They will overwhelm the world."

In a Chinese official report of 1907, the number of Chinese in other countries is given as seven millions, of which 272,829 are credited to America. Seven millions of Chinese in foreign lands; they are literally swarming. It is safe to say that had not our exclusion law been enacted, more than one million of them would now be domiciled in this country.

The Japanese, though commencing later, are just as industrious. They are going literally everywhere, but America is the preference. Mr. Dooley

expressed the situation very aptly when he said: "We found Japan some years ago all shut up. We thought we would pry the lid off and go in; but say, Hennessy, we did not go in; they came out."

The number of Oriental immigrants in this country now is approximately as follows:

Chinese	300,000
Japanese	191,000
Coreans	12,000
Hindus	3,000
Total	576,000

Of this number at least eighty-five per cent are in the Pacific Coast States, Alaska and Hawaii. There are 83,000 more in the Philippine Islands.

VII. ASSISTED IMMIGRATION.

The main inducement that leads the Oriental to come to the Pacific Coast is the wages paid for labor. For similar kinds of work the wages run from twelve to fifteen times higher than in Japan. This difference in wages has been largely advertised in Japan by the various steamship lines plying between that country and our western coast. These lines are owned and manned by Japanese, and run to all the main ports of the Pacific Coast. They want business and the steerage passenger business is remunerative, notwithstanding a very low rate is offered. Emigration agencies have also been organized for the purpose of assisting the emigrant. Passage money is advanced and then paid back with premiums from the immigrant's earnings on this side. The immigrant, on arrival is in reality bound out for his labor to an emigration company in Japan, with agents acting for it in this country. Thus we have an immigration assisted and worked up in Japan by the steamship companies, and emigration agencies for the profit there is in it to themselves. These companies and agencies have protested in Japan to the "gentleman's agreement" and are doing, and will do, all they can to circumvent it.

VIII. LABOR CONDITIONS ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

The first people to settle on our Pacific Coast were the Spaniards, who led a pastoral life. Then came the gold hunters, and the mountains and hills were combed for the precious metal. The production of gold has not yet ceased, and the miner's cabin and the prospector on the tramp, are still familiar sights. Little, however, did the Argonauts realize that there was more gold to be obtained from the valleys than from the mountains. But agriculture to-day is there the greatest industry, and its products are sent to all the eastern, and many foreign, markets. A large number of permanent laborers is required, and during the harvesting season a still larger number of temporary laborers is needed. How to meet this temporary demand during the few months of each year that it exists is the most serious problem. This problem exists to-day in nearly all of our agricultural districts, and is in the main unsolved, for while these temporary laborers are needed for three months of the year, we do not know what to do with them the other nine months. Outside of this temporary demand, the labor demands of the Coast are fairly well supplied.

This year the aid of the unemployed has been a serious factor in all our western cities. Even in San Francisco, whose rebuilding has been one of the

wonders of the modern world, and where the work of reconstruction is still in progress in almost every block, the streets have felt the tread of thousands of unemployed. "I am a carpenter and cannot get work. My wife and children are starving. Can you help me?" This is a tale which, with slight variations, has been told hundreds of times by worthy men to the relief societies during the past winter in San Francisco. The only immigrants the Pacific Coast wants to-day are men with capital to start new industries and furnish employment to men now out of a job, and men who will buy land and put it under cultivation and establish homes; such men with their families only are wanted. The man who is looking for a salary will find a waiting list at every job.

IX. CROWDING OUT THE WHITE MAN.

What happens when the Oriental immigrant arrives? He at once allies himself with one of the Oriental labor agencies, and most likely is under obligation for his passage. These agencies are well organized and the laborers are under an absolute boss. They must have work and they will go where, and do what, the boss tells them. They have no families and brought with them only their low standard of living. They are therefore ready to cut wages low enough to get work. Our white laborer usually has a family and is used to a much higher standard of living than his Oriental competitor. He cannot meet the cut and hence must surrender to the Oriental and seek other employment.

In the orchards and vineyards and on the farms the Oriental took advantage of the increased demand for labor in the harvest season, and got a foothold. He fed himself and slept any place where he could roll up in a blanket. The employer was gratified with the results of his work. As he became stronger entrenched, he refused to work at all with white men, and thus all white laborers were displaced. Prior to the introduction of Oriental labor in the orchards and vineyards, it had been the custom for many white men to take a vacation from their regular employment during the harvesting season, and, with their families, camp on the borders of our orchards and vineyards, and all earn money picking fruit. The Japanese have put a stop to that. Having driven out all white labor, the Orientals fixed their own prices, and when those began to look too high to the owner, they refused to work at all and demanded a lease of the orchard or vineyard. When denied, they refused to furnish any laborers to pick the fruit, and, as all other labor had been driven out, the fruit rotted on the ground. The next year the owner was compelled to accept their terms and lease. This is the Japanese method. The Chinese are not so well organized, and in most places have been driven out by the Japanese. The renter does not keep up the property he leases. His object is to get all out of it he can, and when no longer profitable, abandon it. The owner then finds he has on his hands an unprofitable, ruined property.

The most noted fruit district in California a few years ago was the Vaca Valley. The orchards in this valley cover about 15,000 acres, the greater proportion of which are now in the hands of the Japanese. Ninety per cent of the people one will meet on the public roads are Japanese. In the village of Vacaville more than fifty per cent of the general merchandise business is now done by Japanese stores, of which there are six. Ninety per cent of the farm implement business is in their hands. This is no longer the lovely valley it once was. Real estate has already sunk one-third in value, although the general tendency in the State has been upward. The valley is suffering from what is there called Japanese blight, vastly harder to cope with than pear blight or San Jose scale.

Another noted fruit district is western Placer County, along the line of the Overland railroad. The same conditions prevailed here that are found in Vaca Valley. The white owners are leasing their ranches because forced to, and are moving away. It is hardly possible now to find children enough in some of the towns to make a school.

The same thing is now taking place in the Fresno raisin district. A rural mail carrier wrote last winter the following: "I am an old veteran of the Civil War and now an R. F. D. carrier. On my route there is a sample of what we are coming to. The Alma vineyard, some 700 acres of vines, is run by Japs, not a white man on it. Other years they employed a white foreman and white men to drive the teams—some ten or twelve men. The Hanford ranch, run by Japs—no white men. Other years five or six white men, except in fruit cutting time, then thirty or forty white people, women and children. The Stephens ranch, 320 acres, run by Japs. Other years ten to twenty white men, and in fruit-cutting time more white men, women and children."

The potato crop of the State is mostly raised in the deltas of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. Oriental labor has this industry and a Japanese boss has complete control. This spring he owned practically the potato supply of the State, and we are paying three cents per pound for potatoes for our tables. The Japanese boss made money enough to buy a \$20,000 home in Berkeley. He will probably repeat this, for so long as he can control Japanese labor he can probably control the potato market, until conditions change.

These are not the only cases. Wherever in the State there is a district that has been brought to profitable production, the Japanese are after it, and always use the same policy of coercion. As soon as they get the power they are unmerciful and have no regard for their contract. Last year a man in the Fresno district contracted with a Japanese labor agency for labor at \$2.00 per day for the cutting season. In the midst of it they demanded a raise to \$2.50. He refused. About ten o'clock one night a rap at the door attracted his attention, and when he opened the door, in filed twelve Japanese to enforce their demands. He ordered them out of the house and they refused to go and assumed a threatening attitude. He stepped into a bedroom and got his revolver, and, returning to the room where they were, again ordered them out. They turned to go but said, "You no pay in morning there be no house, no barn, no bossy man." Construing this to be a threat to burn him out and kill him, he yielded and paid the demands. In San Jose in a similar case the foreman resisting the demands, was killed by them, and so far the punishment of the murderers has not been possible.

Japanese capital is also being brought to this country and invested in lands. Some of the deals have been so large that it is generally believed that the Japanese Government is behind them.

The Japanese are now crowding into the trades and various industries of the white race. They come over in ignorance, seek employment of the white man at low wages, learn his business, and instead of going back and using it for the improvement of Japan, they use it to undermine their former employers. In the building trades a Jaanese contractor will underbid all others to secure a contract. He will hire Japanese workmen at much less than the union wages. Many owners will not contract with them, but there are enough who do, to let him into these trades. They are also entering merchandising and banking, not only in the rural districts, but in the cities.

X. HOW ORIENTALS LIVE IN THIS COUNTRY.

The Chinese usually settle together in the cheapest district they can find and establish a "Chinatown." No repairs are made and in a few years

their buildings are old "tumble-down" structures. This general air of decay is characteristic of every Chinatown. They usually adjoin the "red-light" district. The Chinese will, however, live in their special districts and not crowd into the residence districts of the white race.

The Japanese, on the other hand, prefer to live in the better parts of town and are likely to settle in a good residence district. To get into a district they will offer very high rent until some avaricious landlord gives them a lease. The house is then packed full of tenants. Even the bath tub goes into the backyard and the bath room is used as a bed room. In one case in Berkeley, however, the bath tub in the back yard continued in use even in day time, until stopped by the police. A shoe repair shop goes into the basement of the house and a laundry in the rear end, and a sign for house-cleaners on a front window. The families next door on either side get tired of their neighbors and move out. The owners can get no new tenants except Japanese, for no white family will move into a house next to a Japanese. He must take a Japanese tenant at a reduced rent. Then the first tenants refuse to pay the former rent, and, in fact, after sufficient haggling, rent at their own terms. After the fire in San Francisco, they got a foothold in this manner in a choice residence district at a high rent. This now covers many blocks and rents have gone down about 75 per cent. The owners of these houses have been compelled to sacrifice on the value of their property by a means that is as successful as it is merciless.

XI. THE FEELING TOWARD ORIENTAL IMMIGRANTS.

I have cited only a few typical cases. These could be largely multiplied if time would permit. They are sufficient, however, to show why a bitter feeling exists between Americans and Japanese on the Coast. The basis of it is economical. The Japanese on the whole are industrious, sober and steady. As a general rule they are able and willing to do the work required. In the skilled trades they can do fair work, though not so good as the white mechanic. In some kinds of work the Japanese excel Americans. In the amount of work which they can do in proportion to the cost of food, the white man cannot compare with the yellow man. The white man cannot stand by and see himself crowded out of his usual occupations and maintain a brotherly love for his successful competitor.

XII. THE MORAL STANDARDS.

The Oriental in this country has no family life. In 1885 the municipality of San Francisco made an investigation of conditions in Chinatown in that city. The report says: "There were found living in families, women 57, children 59; herded together with apparent indiscriminate parental relations and no family classification, women 761, children 576; professional women and children living together, women 567, children 87." At that time fifty thousand Chinese lived in this district called Chinatown, and there were in all that number less than three score wives, with less than three score children. Here chastity is unknown, and women are mainly slaves sold to infamy and trained to vice. The conditions found by this investigation still continue. Women are to-day bought and sold in slavery in Chinatown, and you may be interested to know that the value of a comely Chinese slave girl in America is about \$2,000. The reports of more recent investigations recount facts so horribly vile, so utterly degrading, that a publication of them can only be excused in an official document. There has been no improvement and there will be none until the race that makes these conditions is wiped from the land. Describing the Chinese city of Canton some years ago, Kipling said,

"A big blue sink of a city, full of tunnels, all dark, and inhabited by yellow devils; a city that Dore ought to have seen. I am devoutly thankful that I am never going back there." Chinatown in San Francisco is a smaller Canton, in the heart of an American metropolis. There is also a Chinatown of the same general character in every city, and nearly every village on the Pacific Coast.

The Japanese are but little better than the Chinese. Their housing conditions are some better, but the relations of the sexes are fully as bad. While they do not practice slavery, they carry with them wherever they go the same moral leprosy that the Chinese carry. The census of 1900 showed on the mainland of the United States 89,863 Chinese, of which 85,341 were males and only 4,522 were females; and a total of 24,326 Japanese, of which 23,341 were males and only 985 were females. It is safe to say that far more than a majority of these females were prostitutes. After 1900 a larger number of Japanese women were imported for immoral purposes, so that about one-third of the arrivals were women. The activity of the Federal Government brought a change in 1907, for during the year, while the number of Japanese males arriving was 27,240, the number of females was only 2,986.

The people of the Pacific Coast have always respected the honesty of the Chinese. They are not thieves and they keep their contracts. When a Chinese agrees to do a thing he will keep his agreement to the letter. The Japanese who come to this country cannot be trusted. They are intelligent and smart, but, with them, smartness means ability to beat the white man. They will not keep an agreement when it is for their interest to break it, and will not pay their obligations if they can avoid doing so. The Japanese, from the business standpoint, is as detested as the Chinese is respected. If we **must** have the yellow race, let it be the Chinese, for he is honest and only competes in the fields of common labor.

The Oriental brought with him a vice unknown in this country, the "opium habit," and in the Chinatowns the smell of opium smoke is everywhere. We might not object if its use was confined to his own race, but, sad to say, it is not, and the Celestial takes delight in teaching the white race the use of this drug. White girls as young as twelve years of age have been found in a state of stupor in Chinese laundries, and while these joints are now generally broken up, there are hundreds, aye thousands, of our boys and girls who have acquired this deadly habit and are now doomed, hopelessly doomed, beyond a shadow of redemption. The municipal report previously mentioned says, "Gaunt and emaciated, with a deathlike skin hanging loosely over their frames, eyes deep sunk in their cavities, furtively glancing from side to side as if constantly in dread of apprehension, their features distorted, in shabby, scant and disorderly attire, they slink along the street after nightfall like hunted animals. . . . Sometime in the past these poor miserable and degraded wrecks were the beloved children of fond parents, but are now hopelessly lost forever." Among certain occupations of the white race, this opium habit is almost universal. Young girls of good families have been found smoking opium, and women who can ride in their automobiles are among the best customers. This pernicious habit is growing and spreading, and is a far greater menace to the whole country than the bubonic plague, to stamp out which we have spent thousands of dollars.

XIII. THE RACE QUESTION.

So far, we have dealt with this question only from the economic standpoint, but the question of race cannot be ignored. We already have two

race problems in this country. Do we want another? The black race has been with us nearly three hundred years, and the problem is apparently as far from solution to-day as ever. The problem of the red man we have settled by extermination.

Do we wish now to take on a third race problem on the Pacific Coast? Would it not be the mark of wisdom to wait at least until we had solved the problem of the black race? The latter came to us, or was, rather, forcibly brought to us, simple and ignorant. It yielded to direction and control. The yellow race comes voluntarily, with a definite object and fixed ideas. The Oriental brings with him an inheritance of centuries of superstitions and prejudices. He believes in his fatherland, its history and traditions, none of which he will surrender. His ideas and ours are as far apart as the east is from the west. He is beyond our direction and control. He feels himself our superior and calls us in his heart "white devils."

Talk of assimilation is nonsense. The white peoples coming to this country will unite into a homogeneous race. Rawlinson says that the Anglo-Saxon owes his powers to the uniting together of different branches of the white race, and perhaps we are to-day building up in this country a new and greater Anglo-Saxon. But sooner will the red and black race be assimilated with the future American, than will the yellow. More than sixty years of the yellow race in California has not brought that race any nearer Caucasian civilization. They are still Mongolian in thought and life; and so are their children, who, from the fortunes of birth, are now American citizens.

The Chinese do not come into our courts or recognize our Government among themselves. In our midst, they set up their own governments, establish their own courts of justice in their own way, and enforce their decrees against members of their own race, even with death when they choose. In our courts the Mongolian does not hesitate to commit perjury, and is an adept in establishing an alibi.

At the close of the Russo-Japanese war, the returned Japanese soldier found his former place filled, and thus became the emigrant. The large increase of emigration from Japan was of the discharged soldier. He came in numbers to Hawaii and the United States. It would be easy to marshal an army of fifty thousand Japanese veterans at any point in California in forty-eight hours. The same thing could probably be done in Hawaii. These ex-soldiers of Japan did not surrender their allegiance to their emperor. They are to-day as truly his subjects as though they lived in Japan, and he counts them as such. When the last war broke out, many a Japanese went home at the call of the emperor and entered the army. When the next call to war comes he will as quickly respond. If it is against Russia, home he will go to enlist in the service of his native country; but if it is against this country, then what?

The Oriental does not wish assimilation. He comes here not for a home but for gold, and when his fortune is made expects to return to his native land. During the last year the Japanese in this country have sent back to Japan five million dollars, and during the past thirty years the Chinese have sent and carried to China eight hundred millions.

XIV. CONCLUSION.

Such, in fact, is the Mongolian who comes to these shores. Can we expect the white man to build a home, care for and protect his wife and weans, perform the duties of an American citizen, and compete in the unequal struggle for life with this wifeless, childless, dutiless immigrant? The foundation of this Republic is the Christian home, and a solemn duty is laid upon us for its preservation. The only safety lies in refusing admission to all

branches of the Mongolian race. If we are to open our western ports to Mongolian immigrants, we must be prepared to surrender to them in time the western part of the continent—to the Sierras, and perhaps to the Rockies. That is what unrestricted immigration means. Our safety has lain hitherto in the fact that the great Chinese empire was asleep, and Japan was not fully awake. It has been said that the guns of Admiral Dewey at Manila Bay were heard around the world. It is certain that they awoke from a lethargy of centuries the sleeping millions of the Orient. The awakening to a new industrial life has begun, and this century is bound to unfold a change so vast in its proportions, so great in its results, that we scarcely dare to speculate upon them.

At last the dream of Columbus is realized. The western route to the Indies and Cathay is now open, but alas, the vision of Columbus is found to be but an empty dream. Instead of the fabled riches of the east flowing into the laps of the western nations, the current is running the other way. Instead of the ships of the descendants of Columbus carrying a great commerce across this new ocean highway, the boats of the little brown men of the east are now seen in every port of our western coast, loading with the wealth of the west and bound back to the east. To-day the rarest sight in the ports of the Orient is a ship flying the Stars and Stripes. Our vessels have been driven from the seas and now lie rotting in our harbors.

The white and the yellow races flowing in opposite directions around the world have now met on the shores of the Pacific, and the great contest for the mastery has commenced. What the results will be we cannot tell. They are hidden within the tomb of time. We are certain, however, that our duty lies in the preservation of the ideals of this Christian civilization, the foundation stones of this republic.

III.

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Education, Not Legislation

California and the Japanese

Prepared by

ALICE M. BROWN

Education, Not Legislation



California and the Japanese



THE present race agitation is no new phase of the disturbance in California, though there is less reason for its existence than, perhaps, at any previous time, yet it seems to be more bitter and rampant and have more of the legislature under its sway than ever before. It is aimed to strike the Japanese and the feelings expressed by the proponents of the measures are as bitter, sweeping and intolerant as Russia's persecution of the Jews. There is a superstition that all you have to do to stop a thing is to pass a law against it. Under our system of lawmaking any irresponsible person can have a bill introduced and so bills have been brought forth with the cry that the farmers demand such laws. As a matter of fact, the three so-called "farmers" who were permitted to go before the Judiciary committees, did not represent the vast intelligent farming class at all. The real farmers were there, but they opposed the measures so were denied a hearing. Such petitions as have been gotten up represent an unthinking, prejudiced, jealous class of people, largely non-property owners. The better elements were never approached or if they were, refused to have anything to do with it. In this community it was carried around by a social pariah, a man who owns not a foot of soil. Many who signed did so in their thought that the Japanese should own no more land, but would not exclude them leasing, owning their present homes and living among us.

The constant prodding and slurring of the Japanese is a habit of the ignorant of California. Their ugly words pass unchallenged and hence breed more. The forces of evil and ignorance are always rampant; the forces of good-will and stay-at-home industry are tranquil. So while prejudice and un-Americanism claims to be the voice of the people, our real citizenship depreciates the attacks, deploring such bitterness, but finds all avenues for voicing objections

closed. In local communities those who come out for justice and right are bitterly assailed, and it is the line of least resistance to be passive. Then, too, the latter always know the unworthiness of the agitator and are reluctant to recognize that he can stir up mischief.

Our politicians use Oriental agitation to stir the passions of the ignorant and make it the lever to land them in the office. Of course, such politicians on the stump are not patriots in office. Reason, justice, common sense, the larger welfare do not characterize their motives and activities. The passions their harangues aroused they would appease with even more violence. Hence, we can account for such a rabid, un-Christian spirit as sways our legislature today. The writer listened to a two and a half hour talk by the Assembly on the anti-alien land bills on the afternoon of April 15th. It was neither a debate nor a discussion, for in all that time, not one kindly word, on humane thought, one twinkling glimpse of the great industrial service the Japanese render the State, was heard. It was a body of men race-mad. Christian kindliness, American justice and amicability were buried beneath the violent passions of the barbaric man. We heard them boast they would see this bill pass though it would involve the State and Nation in foreign complications at any cost. We heard: "Let war come"; and such ignominy was applauded. Those men, intoxicated by hatred, stood there and called for blood and desolation, for the shrieks and groans, and anguish of war that their petty prejudice should be satisfied. With such evil forces framing an alien land bill there ought to be no further need to prove its unfitness, its injustice, and discrimination.

Why are the Japanese thus assailed and made the bogie of a great danger? There are no Japanese coming here. The "Gentleman's agreement" is strictly kept by Japan. It will be kept unless this vicious agitation compels Japan to remove all barriers, "letting West meet East wherever it will, each taking its own chances."

The Japanese are occupying but a pinch of the thousands and thousands of acres of untilled land in this State. State statistics for 1912 show that the entire acreage owned by them was only 12,726 acres, and that in three years, their holdings had increased only 1,935 acres. That puts to rout the bogie, "They are taking our homes. They are crowding us out." The Japanese are the best of farmers. No soil is too poor for him to make productive, and the way he toils, willingly, hopefully, tirelessly, is simply amazing and deserves as its reward all that he gets. The State needs thous-

ands of farmers with just such energy and pluck. The industry and success of the Japanese arouses jealousy, his color calls out race-hatred, and so he is persecuted when he should be praised.

Florin is constantly cited as an example for the necessity of enacting alien land laws, and of driving the Japanese out. Having lived here since 1877, the writer knows a bit more about the conditions and situation than those "wise" legislators do. The soil is a shallow, bedrock, abounding in sloughs. Irrigation is carried on by conducting the water through shallow ditches over the land. Hence, the ground must be level and the leveling and preparing it for planting is an expensive and laborious undertaking. The soil easily bakes and hardens and must be well plowed and cultivated and frequently loosened by hand labor. The rigorous work required militated against extensive cultivation. For years the production was small and Florin was unknown as a fruit-growing region. Although most agricultural products will grow, the conditions are such that we can not compete for profit with other fruit localities, except in the production of strawberries and tokay grapes. Especially is the soil adapted to the strawberry, in quality and quantity it is unrivaled. But berry-raising is one of the most difficult and laborious of fruit crops and wholly distasteful to the white man. Before the coming of the Japanese the Chinese did the work. The Japanese proved to be most fitted and adapted to it, and the whites gladly leased their idle lands to them. Ere long, bare dry fields became green, luxuriant berry patches. The output grew by jumps, new markets were found, and carloads and carloads shipped away made Florin known as a berry center. Along with the growth of the berry industry, went an increase in the grape production. Grape roots were planted with the strawberries so that when the life of the strawberry ended, a bearing vineyard took its place. Prosperity marked the community. The whites with idle land offered it to the Japanese on yearly payments at figures the land never brought before. By tireless industry, frugal living, the Japanese farmer changed that bare land into the finest of vineyards and berry patches, and in a few years had the land paid for, a better home made, and many of our comforts and necessities procured. As fast as his profits permit, he secures more and more of the necessities, the comforts, and some luxuries for his family, his home, and his farm.

Generous and grateful, reciprocating a favor no matter how small, hopeful, sensitive, patient, intent on their own affairs, eager to fulfill their part in securing our good will, we know they are worthy to live among us.

They are crowding no one out of the land. That land would lie idle as it was all these years until their industry breathed life into it. They are an asset to the community, for we know in turning barren fields into fruitfulness they are not only benefitting the community but they are serving the State. Our State is big enough and great enough to permit any man of any race or color within its boundaries today to own and till ten acres of uncultivated soil. It is her greatest interest to develop her resources, and to prohibit the law-abiding industrious man, because of his race or color from so doing in inflicting the greatest injury and injustice upon herself, to say nothing of the petty un-American attitude of such restriction.

Many of the whites lease their vineyards to the Japanese and could not retain them if they did not do so. Many have passed the age when they can do the hard work and widows find leasing a blessing. These bills strike at the leasing and aim to prevent the Japanese from obtaining a living in this manner. In leasing the tenant assumes all responsibility for the labor. Our vineyards are better cared for, our fruit of better quality, the yield larger, the pack better, than if we had to hire day labor to have it done. These bills restrict leasing either to one or to three years and expressly state no lease shall be renewed. They do not care how much they injure the farmer if they can only jab at the Japanese. Prevent the fruit-farmer from leasing, make his only recourse white labor, and you have him where there is neither production nor profit. Such a clause shows the degree of prejudice that sways these law-makers. Besides, it is idiotic in placing such restrictions upon the small fruit grower. Why should we constantly change our tenant? Militate against the farmers' conditions and you militate against the State. Such a law would be so pernicious and destructive to the fruit grower that it should be evaded by some means and would therefore be a detriment to our moral political life.

A brief review of statistics bearing upon the Japanese in this State shows that the total number of Japanese immigrants from 1869 to 1910 was 85,985, while the total number of all other immigrants during that same period was 22,846,000. What an insignificant part of the whole immigration was the Japanese immigration? By the census of 1910, the total Japanese population in the U. S. was only 71,722, of which 55,100 were in California. Of these, 21 per cent were students. In the year 1911, women made up 69 per cent of the Japanese immigrants, showing the tendency of the Japanese in this country to remain and make a home. Over 90

per cent of the Japanese admitted into this country were between the age of 14 and 44 years,—the age of greatest efficiency. According to the Commissioner-General of Immigration, the Japanese rank third in the amount of money per capita brought in by each immigrant. The English and the German only ranking above them. Nearly 50 per cent of the Japanese immigrants are engaged as farmers, owners or lessees, or as farm hands. On the farms where berries, sugar beets, nursery products, and grapes are produced, the Japanese do most of the labor. The Japanese gain a footing in those products, the work of which is distasteful to the whites. Ninety-five per cent of the labor of picking berries, vegetables, and raising celery is done by the Japanese.

Between the available white farm laborer and the available Japanese laborer, the Japanese is by far the better. For a day's wage he will do a day's work and adapt himself to disagreeable conditions which the white man will not. His wage is as high as the white man for the farmer wants efficiency. The Japanese farmers are largely tenant farmers, assuming all responsibility for the labor on a cash rent or share system.

The Japanese are spoke of by the agitators as ignorant and non-assimilative. By U. S. reports we find that 55 per cent of these in the U. S., less than five years could speak our language. Among the population of Japanese in Florin there are few who have not a very fair use of the English, and a considerable number who can speak it well. Some are well educated in English having High school training, others pour over English books after a hard day's work to acquire a reading and writing knowledge. Many are finely educated in their own tongue. From data it is shown that 98 per cent of the Japanese read and write their native tongue. More progress in learning English is made by the Japanese in a given time than by any other foreign race. The Japanese is by nature a student eager to learn anything pertaining to Western civilization. This is easily understood when we think of the splendid educational system of Japan by which the public schools supply an education to every child. In their schools are taught all the branches we consider essential, besides the English language. Her universities are great institutions of learning. We have no alien class in this State more progressive and adaptable than the kind of Japanese that live in this community. One has only to know what sweeping reforms have been made in Japan in the last forty-five years, and the smoothness with which each reform went into effect, to realize how great is the adaptable and progressive character of the Japanese.

Some of our Japanese farmers are subscribers to our local newspapers. They take a deep interest in our political life and not a few have expressed regret that they could not become American citizens. They have a kindly attitude toward our Christian religion and a willingness to understand it. They may not ally themselves with any sectarian organization, but will and do accept the precepts of Christianity and exemplify its teachings in their daily life. Thus, we must recognize they are as able to assimilate our civilization as any other alien race, and much more than some. The race agitators apply the term "assimilative" only to inter-marriage. That is only one phase of assimilation, and we can live in harmony, mutual understanding, and benefit without inter-marriage. They have no desire to mix with us, they are as proud of their blood as we are of ours. They will never be the suitor, the whites will have to make the advances. Besides, we have a law on our statute books that forbids such a marriage. What was it made for if it wasn't to safeguard us against such possible occurrences? When one of "superior" race makes such a step, she—as the case they cite—should be blamed for the commission and not demand that "the whole Japanese race be forever driven from our shores" for the offense. That peoples and races can live together without intermingling by marriage is exemplified in the history of the Jewish race. Throughout the centuries, in whatever country they lived, they kept their blood pure. With our twentieth century intelligence, and self-control, we, superior whites, should be able to do as much.

The standard of right and wrong as to the intermingling of races by marriage is a matter of local sentiment. In California, Oriental-Occidental alliances meet with popular disapproval and horror. Eastern states have no such qualms, neither do European nations. It is a matter that should be solved by biology, eugenics, and humanitarianism rather than by local or popular prejudice. A vicious imagination can make a mountain out of a molehill. He who sweepingly, unhesitatingly denounces it assumes great wisdom. The history of all nations is the history of the attempts to repulse the stranger at the gate, the final absorption of the one by the other and the raising of the nation to a higher level and greater strength. Perhaps our present question has no such significance, but who can say? Only this we know that whatever is best will prevail, that the old, old struggle for existence recognizes the factors that are fittest to survive. The laws of man cannot stem the laws of nature no more than they can forbid the rolling of the sea. Science, justice, humanitarianism are the factors for progress, peace, and harmony,

the forces of modern civilization and enlightenment. Prejudice, ignorance and greed may set up arbitrary laws, create discord, and hinder progress but their sway does not endure. The very wrong they strive for calls out a mighty force of new power to unite with the vast host already battling for human rights and equality. Thus nature removes impediments.

The agitators tell us that the money the Japanese earn here is not spent here but sent home. Their earnings pay for their farms, buildings, horses, feed, wagons, pumping plants, the maintenance of their families, and the hundreds of other things farming requires. The good farmer needs good equipment. They procure the best as their means permit. His home—"warty habitation," his persecutors say but not as rude as Abraham Lincoln's birthplace—... is simple at first, but is improved as his earnings increase. His scale of living is within his means, a virtue that becomes a fault to the race-hater. His children demand our scale of living and the Japanese parent will deprive himself to indulge them. His children are bright, clean and wholesome, breathing the American spirit just the same as the children of any other race do. They will never live on the scale of their fathers. We can rest assured that they will be citizens that will add to our political intelligence and industrial strength. When he buys for his family and himself he wants the best. No shoddy bargains does he seek, he readily pays for quality. Thus, his profits are circulated *right here* among us, there is nothing left to send away. These little ranches are not gold mines, their profits are limited and very variable.

The Japanese farmers, owners or lessees, are a fine class of alien people. Their homes are clean and neat, though in the main simple. Their wives are capable, industrious, happy, mothers, as well as wives and devoted to their offspring. There are no dissensions, no domestic scandals, no evasions of duty by either parent. Their family life may not be just like ours, but in harmonious fulfilling of its purposes and responsibilities, we, Americans would be better off if ours was as uniformly good.

We, who live among them, get on far better with the kindly, industrious Japanese, then we do with our ignorant, shiftless white neighbor. In fact, the kindly feeling is more evident between the educated whites and the Japanese, than the uneducated whites and the Japanese.

There are no Japanese paupers among us and commitments for crime are seldom. They entail no expense upon the community.

In most every thing they undertake they have not an even chance because they are not of the white race. In the cities they are forced by prejudiced sentiment to live in one section, though other uncouth aliens can live where they please. In the country they make the best of the poor habitations that circumstances force upon them, but they are as eager for better as any other people. Whatever their detractors may say, we, who know them from daily contact with them, affirm that if given a chance they are able and willing to adapt their lives to the ideals and ideas that dominate us. No foreign race are more eager than they to live as Americans live, to enjoy the comforts Americans enjoy.

Another sweeping falsehood made against them is, that all are dishonest. There are good and bad among them, just as in any other people, but the honest predominate. Treat them square and honest and they will treat you the same in full. It is the white man's tricks and impositions that have forced them to be wary. So many, many times they have been cheated and the white man thinks it is permissible when the party is a Japanese. When they turn about and foil him in his tricks, they are pronounced tricky and dishonest. The white man in his "superiority" would throw his iniquity upon the whole Japanese race, but truth compels it be tossed back to him. It is the men that live in glass houses that throw the stones.

We are warned that the "picture brides" are coming in, and too many children are being born. It would seem as if any American citizen would be ashamed to mention such a virtue as a fault. They should have wives, we want them to live family lives, to be ennobled by parenthood. The family man is the one we want when we lease our ranch, the one we want for our neighbor. They love their children as dearly as any whites love theirs. Because they do not practice our Occidental evasion of parenthood, but joyfully greet the new-comer, and gladly work for its provision, they are denounced for that noble virtue. Do our race-haters make the standards of right and wrong? Evidently they think so.

Wherever there is in a community fifty or more Japanese, an association is formed which is most commendable in its objects and benefits. The local associations are united in a state association and they in a national association. All Japanese in a community are registered in the local associations and their character and business noted. Thus, when they enter another community they bear with them an introduction in the form of a certificate of character and occupation. The larger aim is to maintain a strict

moral surveillance. Any immorality, any crime, is punished by expulsion from the association, reporting the same to the other associations and to the Immigration commission which finally leads to the deportation of the offender. Thus, is any possible slavery in women brought over as wives prevented. The associations care for their people who may through misfortune, sickness, or death need aid. They assist in educational work, especially aiding night schools. They further and give aid to missionary work. The Secretary must furnish advice and information upon matters of business, American customs, and current events. Lastly, but not least, the aim of the association is to promote good-will and better understanding between the whites and the Japanese. Has any other alien people in this land an organization so high in its aims, so efficient in working, and so beneficial in its results? We have stated previously that the Japanese are seldom found in our police courts, jails, or hospitals. The respect for authority in the Japanese, and the efficiency of the system of the associations, makes the Japanese a self-governed class among us. Surely, they have reached a high plane of political advancement, to maintain such an organization and have it work so smoothly and efficiently. Merit, virtue, industry, intelligence, should not go unrecognized because of race or color.

The cleavage line between peoples is not really one of color or race, it is one of education, of similar moral and spiritual standards. "In the realm of character there never has been and never will be a cleavage line." This present race agitation is not going to be remedied by alien land laws or any discriminatory laws. It is a matter of education, not legislation. These bogies exist only in the distorted mind. We need a better understanding of Oriental peoples through a campaign of education. We must sound the call for a softening of prejudices, a common hunmaity, a broader and aroused Christianity, a recognition of human worth in every person, irrespective of color or creed.

An alien land bill will not remedy one defect, but will do vast injury and injustice, not only to the Japanese people, ~~but will do vast injury and injustice, not only to the Japanese people,~~ to Japan, but equally to ourselves. Not alone does it play havoc with our industrial and commercial spheres, but it is fraught with so much danger to our national life and to the cause of universal peace. As Chester Rowell, in the *California Outlook*, points out, the question is 99 per cent national in its bearing and only one per cent local. California cannot claim to be progressive and take such a fatal

step. She must be progressive in her relation with the larger world as well as her local reforms. It is poor Progressivism that would revive the obsolete and dangerous doctrine of "State Rights," today, that doctrine that was responsible for the terrible desolation, carnage, and horrors of the Civil War. In blood and battle it went down forever. No worthy cause ever advances it to gain its ends. Yet it is constantly expounded by these race-haters, and Theodore Roosevelt is denounced for putting nation above state. A bill that is pushed through with the lever of "State Rights" is unfit to be framed into the statutes of California. No further argument should be necessary to show its harmfulness.

ALICE M. BROWN.

April 27th, 1913.



1.



JAPANESE IN FLORIN

Prepared by
ALICE M. BROWN

Statements are continually made by the anti-Japanese and anti-alien proponents that Japanese immigration is continuing, and that the influx must be stemmed. I quote the following from a letter from Dr. David Starr Jordan, an authority on the Japanese and our international relations with Japan, which shows that such statements are false and unfounded. The letter bears the date of April 8, 1913. Dr. Jordan says: "Inasmuch as under the present agreement between our State Department and the Japanese Government not a single Japanese laborer has come to the United States, to Hawaii, to Mexico, and to British Columbia since 1907, all this agitation is futile and mischievous. Most of the anti-Japanese bills have been clearly unconstitutional, and if they were not, they would also be so sweeping as to overturn business in the State. In any case, all this kind of agitation is a heavy burden on our oriental commerce which depends on good-will."

ALICE M. BROWN.

JAPANESE IN FLORIN

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Prepared by

ALICE M. BROWN

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THIS tiny spot on the map, Florin, is cited as a pretext for the necessity of enacting anti-alien laws. As one who has lived here thirty-five years, yet been away long enough to see the light and breathe the cosmopolitan spirit, I beg to discuss the conditions and situation.

The soil is a shallow bedrock, abounding in sloughs. Irrigation is carried on by boring wells and conducting the water through shallow ditches over the land. In order to irrigate, the land must be level, and the cost of leveling and preparing the ground for planting is an expensive consideration. The soil is limited in its productivity, grapes and strawberries being best adapted to its conditions. For strawberry production in quality and quantity it is unsurpassed. For grapes, the tokay claims precedence, though the tonnage per acre is limited, the quality of the product makes up for light production and excels every other section. Thus, the tokay grape and the strawberry constitute the resources of the place and shipments of this class of fruit aggregate a half million dollars annually.

Until some fourteen years ago the fruit production was small, the great amount of work the soil requires under cultivation and the meager crop were no incentive to the whites for extensive farming. The vast fields were sowed to grain, but each succeeding year impoverished the soil and made that unprofitable. About fourteen years ago the Japanese commenced to come in, and readily found employment in the strawberry fields. So adept were they for the work, and with their ambition and industry, the whites gladly rented

their lands to them. The renting of the vineyards followed, and invariably to the satisfaction and advantage of the white owner. Florin began to be on the map, and the shipments of strawberries and grapes increased enormously, beside the quality of the output was vastly improved. Owners of these barren idle lands saw a chance to turn them to profit and offered them to the Japanese on yearly payments at a price they never would have obtained from the white man. In a year's time an unfertile field would be changed to a beautiful berry patch, adding wealth to the community. The persistent tireless toil they put upon the soil is simply amazing, and that alone ought to be sufficient proof that they are worthy to live among us. Along with strawberries, grape vines are planted so when the three years' life of the strawberry ceases, a productive vineyard takes its place. In the quality of their vineyards they surpass the whites, and make the vineyards of the latter look like wornout stumps. Their vines are tall and robust, and, of course, yield superior fruit. Thus, by their sheer pluck and wonderful industry they have changed the whole face of the land from barren unfertile fields to the fairest of vineyards and strawberry patches. And to do so they had to face tremendous obstacles which the white man never would have surmounted. Beginning with no capital they make the place pay for itself. They know how to live within their means, to live frugally, but when they are on their feet and their home is paid for, they spend for the American food and comforts for which they yearn.

They are crowding no one out of the land by their industry; that very land would be lying bare and idle if they did not occupy it. The whites spurned it for thirty years and they are no more ambitious today. They want better land, land which does not entail such constant, ceaseless effort to wring a profit from it. There is always a class who are jealous of any one who works and prospers, and because of the peaceable humble disposition of these people they are doubly bold in their attacks upon them. It is the dog in the manger attitude. There is plenty of room in this great State for all who want land and who want to work. We are no overpopulated country like Belgium or Japan. We want people here who will till our soil, and make our lands blossom with fruitfulness. They are a tremendous asset to the community and the state, and if it were not for the racial bias that darkens and poisons the mind they would be thrice welcome.

The Japanese are peaceable, law-abiding, tirelessly industrious, home-keeping, moral, temperate, grateful and generous. They

require no policing, there are no disturbances; no woman has ever been molested. That is a fit test for their worthiness as a people. What other alien race has such a record? We think of the South and are thankful we have a farming people so much superior to the negro. They keep to themselves but are always ready to do a favor or lend assistance at the least suggestion. If, in the rarest instances, there is inter-marriage of the white and brown races, let us place the error where it belongs, to the degeneracy of the white person, and not to the whole Japanese race. But it may be we are narrow in calling such a person, a woman, degenerate. Perhaps her choice of an industrious alien is more commendable than if she had allied herself with a shiftless intemperate white man. Sir Edwin Arnold was not a degenerate because he married a Japanese woman. Neither is J. P. Morgan's nephew. Is it position, money or race-hatred that makes intermarriage degeneracy? The Fongs of Honolulu, white-Chinese, are welcomed by society, and the girls married wealthy prominent men. It is our narrowness, our conservatism, that makes us shocked at such alliances when they are made between the poor. The Japanese people will never seek us, the whites will have to be the suitor. Then let us blame ourselves and not do a worthy people and a nation a rank injustice for such an idiotic reason. The idea that the Japanese people are going to intermarry with the whites and must be driven out to forestall such a chance is a monstrous perversion of facts and the fancy of a disordered and vicious imagination. But it is with such and more wild statements that the mob minds dwells on and persecutes a fine sensitive people.

The race hater shouts that the Japanese are tricky and dishonest. There are good and bad among them just as in any other people, but the honest man predominates. It is the whites that bear the record of shame and dishonor in dealing with the Japanese. It is no disgrace to swindle them in their ignorance, to sell them a worthless horse as a perfect animal for a round sum, to unload worthless things on them for a big price, and to overcharge them at every turn. It is these very same white tricksters who denounce the Japanese when they are foiled in their own game; for the Japanese are an alert brainy people, and they soon learn a means for self-defense. When they can no longer be exploited they are dishonest. It is the same old story of greed and the unscrupulous factor is the white man.

The cry goes forth: "They are a detriment to the community." As related above, they have all the virtues of a self-respecting people.

Their industry makes them a valuable factor to any community. One man who works is worth ten, yes, twenty men who agitate and hang around the grog shop. They are educated in their own language; through their own newspapers are abreast with the times, and ever eager to learn our American ways and adapt themselves to them. They are moral, live cleanly lives, yet are free from our prudery and false modesty. It would be better for us if we looked upon the facts of life with the natural wholesome attitude they do. It is the outlook our educators are urging our children shall be taught.

Is race and color a sufficient cause for their being a detriment? Eastern people and other enlightened nations do not take such an attitude. Intelligent people nowhere would draw such restrictions. It is only the people in certain sections of the Pacific Coast who espouse such limitations. The enlightened mind of this twentieth century values people for their worth to the world, and appreciates worth wherever found irrespective of color, race, or creed. Should sixteenth century darkness and hatred dominate our law-making body and draft laws that do such far-reaching injustice and involve us in disgrace? The opponents of these anti-alien measures are denied a voice, a hearing, or a chance to show that the intelligent public sentiment deplores such laws, and prove the fallacy of the wild statements made by the proponents of the measures. The press here panders to the mob spirit and excludes all opposing arguments. With both press and legislature playing to the galleries, what chance is there for reason and justice to prevail?

The bills before the legislature are outrageously unjust to the Japanese people, Japan, and the interests of California. The bills provide that aliens (Japanese) holding property shall be forced to give up their homes and have them sold at public auction. That is brutal. They have toiled so hard and so faithfully to get a little home, and then have it snatched away for a mere pittance of its worth. Is this American freedom, Russian autocracy, or Turkish subjugation? Japan will have the sympathy of the nations of the world; America must bow her head in shame.

Japan has lived up strictly to her "gentlemen's agreement." Her people are not coming here; there is no more danger of "Oriental invasion" than there is that we will wake up some day to find San Francisco captured by the powers of Europe. It is an illusion, the kind that the ignorant easily swallow. Why should we insult a friendly nation because she is too weak to retaliate? Enlightened nations and great men are striving valiantly to bring about the

age of peace and good will over all the world. At the behest of ignorance, racial hatred, political chicanery, shall California permit herself to be disgraced? The great wrong about to be done will be paid for some day. We are sowing the seed that will some day reap tares. No nation can violate justice and decency without paying the price.

In her blindness in the sway of evil forces, California is doing herself the greatest injury. Her horticultural and viticultural interests are great resources of the State. Drive out the laborers on whom the farmer relies for the harvesting of his crop and you have ~~to~~ cut off his right ~~hand~~ ^{eye}. White people are not farm hands, and become less and less so. We must have a farming class, for this no better and reliable people can be found than the Japanese. We need more of such efficient help. As it is now, the wage is too high, the available men too few. With the marketing conditions returning the farmer small profits, he makes little gain, and is discontented with his lot. Prevent him leasing as these bills do, make white labor his only resource, and his vineyards will show losses. As to the strawberry production, it would destroy that completely. The Japanese are fitted for the ceaseless labor of raising strawberries; carloads and carloads are shipped from here as evidence of their success. The whites cannot do this work. If any one thinks so, let him try hoeing or picking for just *one week*, and he will be a wiser man.

This State is big and broad enough to permit those who will work, to work; to allow those who will earn and make a home to have a home; to help those who are making the State prosperous to make it more prosperous; to assist those who are turning unfertile fields into fruitfulness; to make more fields fruitful; and to do this irrespective of the race, color, or nationality of the individuals. To fail to do this is to fail as a democracy.



JAPANESE IMMIGRATION
OCCUPATIONS, WAGES, ETC.

COMPILED FROM

U. S. Government Reports

AND

Reports of California Bureau of Labor Statistics

PUBLISHED BY

JAPANESE AND KOREAN EXCLUSION LEAGUE

JANUARY 1, 1907



ORGANIZED LABOR
212 LEAVENWORTH ST.

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The Japanese and Korean Exclusion League at a general meeting held Sunday, December 2nd, decided to tabulate and print the information concerning subjects herewith enumerated:

- 1st. Number of Japanese and Koreans in the United States.
- 2nd. Increase during the past ten years.
- 3rd. Number of arrivals monthly during the past twelve months.
- 4th. Number of departures monthly during the past twelve months.
- 5th. Net increase in number of arrivals during last twelve months.
- 6th. List of employments invaded by Japanese and Koreans.
- 7th. Average wages paid as compared to the wages of white labor.
- 8th. Comparative figures of Japanese, Korean and other immigration.

The tables following were obtained from the various Government Reports, Federal and State, and may be considered absolutely reliable. During the past twenty-five years Japanese immigration, as shown by the accompanying table, has increased to an alarming extent, and had it not been for the vigilance displayed by the workingmen of California since 1890, it is safe to say that the number of Japanese in California and the United States would be double what it is today.

Japanese Immigration to United States, 1880-1906.

Year	Number	Year	Number
1880	86	1895	1150
1881	92	1896	1110
1882	50	1897	1526
1883	82	1898	2230
1884	231	1899	2844
1885	176	1900	12,365
1886	277	1901	5296
1887	605	1902	14,270
1888	817	1903	19,968
1889	1607	1904	14,382
1890	2732	1905	11,021
1891	4842	1906	14,000
1892	no record		
1893	1380		
1894	1931		
		Total	115,170

The number of Japanese in Hawaii at the time of annexation, in 1898, as stated by the Island authorities, was 30,000. At the taking of the United States Census in 1900, the number had increased to 61,111, or a little more than 100 per cent.

That the total of the immigration table represents the number of Japanese in the United States cannot be considered for one moment. If, for instance, we estimate the number of departures up to the year 1900 and subtract that number from the number of arrivals we fall far short of the 86,000 given by the Census Report of that year. The legitimate arrivals since the taking of the Census of 1900 aggregate 91,302.

For many years the number of Japanese surreptitiously entering the United States from British Columbia fully equaled the number entering through the custom house. For this information we are indebted to the Reports of the California State Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1894-1898. The annexation of Hawaii put a stop to that method of admission and transferred it to the Mexican border. We are confident that if a census were

INCREASE OF THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA SINCE THE CENSUS OF 1880.

Census of	Year	No.	Increase
.....	1880	86	.....
" "	1890	1,147	1,161
" "	1900	10,151	9,004
" "	1906	50,000	39,849

A study of these figures naturally leads to the question how were they obtained? The reports of the State Bureau of Labor have been ransacked for information and in conjunction with the reports of the officers of 36 of the 57 counties of the State give us the above result.

From the taking of the Census of 1900 up to September 30, 1904, there came to California from Japan 10,524 immigrants. During 20 months preceding September, 1904, we received 7270 from Hawaii, and 672 from Victoria. These figures do not cover the arrivals from Victoria for three years ending December 31, 1903, nor from Hawaii for the two years preceding December 31, 1902. Approximating the arrivals during the missing periods at 5000, it would make the number of Japanese immigrants during that time total 23,466. Add 10,151 of the Census Report to the 7942 from Hawaii and Victoria with 5000 for the missing period, and 10,524 coming direct from Japan, and we have a total of 33,617 Japanese in California on October 1, 1904.

In these figures due allowance has been made for deaths and departures, and also for births, and for arrivals via Oregon and Mexico; one offsetting the other.

The following table from the Report of the California Bureau of Labor Statistics is an interesting one, and throws much light upon the methods of obtaining information:

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES SEPT. 30, 1904, TO SEPT. 30, 1906.

Asia.			
Year	Arrivals	Depts.	Decrease
1905	1426	2447	1021
1906	1224	2022	799
	<u>2650</u>	<u>4469</u>	<u>1820</u>

Hawaii.				
Year	Arrivals	Depts.	Incr.	Net Incr.
1905	6348	77	6721	5250
1906	9320	114	9206	8408
	<u>15,668</u>	<u>191</u>	<u>15,927</u>	<u>13,658</u>

Here we see that notwithstanding the number of departures to the Orient of Japanese who have been here the three years called for by their contract, the influx from Hawaii still gives us a net increase of 13,658 for the two years preceding October 1, 1906. This number added to the result up to and including September 30, 1904, gives 47,275 Japanese in California. Figures previously quoted place the Japanese population of California at 50,000. How can the apparent contradiction be reconciled? The Labor Commissioner has not taken into consideration the two other sources of immigra-

tion—overland via Oregon and Mexico. We have placed the arrivals from these sources at 3000 which, of course, is only conjectural, but a gentleman whose duties call him to Seattle occasionally reports that carloads of Japanese laborers from Washington and Oregon are dumped into the Sacramento Valley during the summer months and it is rarely that any of them return North. As to Mexico, a recent dispatch stated that 300 Japanese had crossed the border into the United States during the month of November, 1906.

That these figures may be relied upon is certain. The Labor Commissioner, in an interview given Mr. Fullerton, Staff Correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, estimated the number of Japs in California to be 55,000. That he has not used this estimate in his report is because he will leave no room for criticism or objection, though quite satisfied of its correctness.

The following table gives the arrivals and departures monthly to and from California and in conjunction with the previous one furnishes complete proof that California is being slowly invaded by the Japanese via Hawaii:

Note—The figures given for 1906 are approximations based upon Japanese immigration during the past three years. The Immigration Report for 1906 has not yet been received.

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES MONTHLY OCT. 1, '05-SEPT. 30, '06.

Asia					Hawaii				
	1905	Ar.	Dptrs.	Incr.	Decr.	Ar.	Dptrs.	Incr.	Net In.
Oct., Nov., Dec. 1906	..345	951	...	606		544	36	508	98
Jan., Feb., Mch.	..499	356	143	....	2038	15	2023	2166	
Apr.	38	...	38	...	1493	11	1482	1520	
May	113	82	31	...	1246	12	1234	1265	
June	22	143	...	121	948	6	942	821	
July	68	200	...	132	950	25	925	793	
Aug.	82	110	...	28	1458	..	1458	1430	
Sept.	57	180	...	123	643	9	634	511	
								8506	

These figures are furnished monthly by the various steamship companies, at the request of the Bureau of Labor, and their correctness can not be questioned, and in any event there is no other source of information, as the United States Bureau of Immigration gathers no statistics relative to the arrivals and departures of immigrants to and from domestic territory.

Before leaving the subject matter of California we would state that during the summer of 1905 the Exclusion League communicated with the various county officers of the State, soliciting information as to the numbers of Japanese in the respective counties. Replies were received from 36 counties; the information obtained compiled and placed side by side with statistics taken from the last Census Reports.

	1905.	1900.	1890.	1880.
Alameda	4000	1149	184	16
Alpine .....	...	...	...	..
Amador .....	...	...	3	..
Butte	500	365	3	..
Calaveras	35	4	3	..
Colusa	250	53	5	..
Contra Costa	500	276	11	..

Del Norte .....	...	...	2	..
El Dorado .....	...	30	2	5
Fresno	1200	598	12	1
Glenn .....	...	14	...	..
Humboldt	60	...	1	..
Inyo	20	...	...	..
Kern	750	48	3	..
Kings	500	156	...	..
Lake .....	...	3	...	..
Lassen .....	...	2	...	..
Los Angeles	3500	204	36	1
Madera	40	17	...	..
Mariposa .....	...	...	...	..
Marin	300	52	24	7
Mendocino	125	23	1	..
Merced	250	43	...	..
Modoc	2	...	...	..
Mono	1	1	...	..
Monterey	1000	710	1	..
Napa	350	6	6	2
Nevada .....	...	15	5	2
Orange .....	...	3	...	..
Placer	500	13	6	..
Plumas .....	...	...	...	..
Riverside	200	97	...	..
Sacramento	2000	1209	51	1
San Benito .....	...	15	...	..
San Bernardino	300	148	2	..
San Diego .....	...	25	13	..
San Francisco	8000	1781	590	45
San Joaquin	800	313	10	..
San Luis Obispo .....	...	16	2	..
San Mateo	5000	46	9	..
Santa Barbara	250	114	5	..
Santa Clara	2000	284	27	..
Santa Cruz	2500	235	19	..
Shasta .....	...	20	2	1
Sierra	10	1	...	..
Siskiyou .....	...	8	...	..
Solano	2000	870	26	2
Sonoma	300	148	74	..
Stanislaus .....	...	5	...	..
Sutter	400	155	...	..
Tehama	150	143	...	..
Trinity .....	...	1	...	..
Tulare .....	...	48	2	2
Tuolumne	8	2	...	..
Ventura .....	...	94	1	..
Yolo	800	410	5	..
Yuba .....	...	56	1	..
<hr/>				
	34,901	10,151	1,147	86

To the student fond of digging to the bottom of things, the foregoing offers a very good field. If one should take the ratio of increase from the 1880 column and bring it down to the present, the resulting figures would be

somewhat interesting. The 1905 column contains the figures received from the officials of 36 counties, and they are believed to be conservative. Some of the counties did not reply to the request for information, while the reply of others was in such a shape that it could not be used. One official informed us that there was no information available in his office, when later it was discovered that he had more than 100 Japanese working on his large ranch.

The difficulty in obtaining data relative to the Japanese may be attributed to indifference or lack of sympathy and a lack of knowledge. Indications are now favorable for investigation and discussion of the subject, and to that end the preceding tables and those to follow are submitted.

EMPLOYMENTS INVADED BY JAPANESE AND KOREANS, WITH COMPARISON OF WAGES PAID.

The Koreans, so far as can be learned, have not yet made themselves felt in the industrial life of California. According to the Immigration Report, 95 per cent of these are agricultural laborers and are, we presume, employed chiefly in the cane-fields of Hawaii. During the past two years they have made themselves acquainted with the opportunities of obtaining increased wages in California, and in consequence many of them are now to be found on the ranches of the southern section of the State.

The Japanese are engaged in every occupation from banking to peddling. In Hawaii they have virtually driven the white laborer out of the country, with the exception of a few building mechanics and the men engaged in the iron trade industries.

The "Third Report on Hawaii (U. S. Bulletin of Labor No. 66)," issued last September, devotes 150 pages of very interesting reading concerning the Orientalization of Hawaii by the Japanese. Every line of every page is an arraignment of the policy which has permitted the industrial and economic conquest of our "Outpost in the Pacific," and every statement is supported by statistical tabulations which will convince the most skeptical advocate of the Japanese that any further influx of that race into California will result most disastrously to all the industries of the State.

The following list shows the occupations in which the Japanese are engaged in San Francisco and throughout California:

* 1	Gardeners.	21	Waiters.
2	Florists.	22	Employment offices.
* 3	Farmers.	23	Hotel keepers.
* 4	Overseers.	24	Restaurant keepers.
* 5	Farm laborers.	*25	Powder works.
6	Laundry workers.	*26	Soda works.
7	Wholesale merchants.	27	Billiard parlors.
8	Retail merchants.	28	Bath houses.
9	Merchandise brokers.	29	Physicians.
*10	Watchmakers, jewelers.	30	Lawyers.
*11	Lumbering.	31	Clergymen.
12	Saloon keepers.	32	Bankers.
13	Barbers.	33	Steamship agents.
14	Bartenders.	34	Railroad agents.
15	Bootblacks.	35	Gas and water agents.
16	Lunchmen.	36	Office boys.
17	Porters.	37	Sale clerks.
18	Servants.	38	Janitors.
19	Stewards.	39	Shoe workers.
20	Cooks.	40	Shoe stores.

*41 Tannery workers.	52 Journalists.
42 Tailors.	53 Printers.
43 Cigarette makers.	54 Architects.
44 Teamsters.	*55 Engineers (Sta.).
*45 Fishermen.	56 Renovatories.
*46 Quarrymen.	57 Furriers.
*47 Miners.	58 Bamboo furniture.
*48 Section hands.	59 Sailors.
*49 Salt works.	60 Marine firemen.
*50 Orchardists.	61 Machinists.
51 Photographers.	62 Transfer companies.

And every one of the building trades.

The occupations marked with a star are confined solely to the country districts; all others are to be found in San Francisco and other cities. So far as the mechanical trades are concerned, the Japanese are doing all their own work from the excavation to the shingling. The industries invaded to the greatest extent are those classed as the domestic occupations, and shoe workers, cooks, waiters, house servants, janitors and laundry workers are the principal sufferers among the journeymen, while the white proprietors of laundries, restaurants, barber shops, and cheap clothing stores are the first of the tradesmen to feel Japanese competition.

The following is the rate of wages paid in several Oriental establishments covering 133 employes. Several of the proprietors were doing their own work, and, of course, could give no rate of wages. Sufficient data, however, were gathered to show the difference between Japanese and white labor:

One bookkeeper at \$1.25 per month.

Three carpenters at \$3.50 per day.

Forty clerks from \$5.00 to \$10.00 per week and \$20.00 to \$40.00 per month.

A few of them receive from \$50.00 to \$85.00 per month, but without board.

Thirteen cooks from \$25.00 to \$70.00 per month.

Six dishwashers, \$30.00 to \$35.00.

Fourteen housecleaners, 25c per hour.

Thirteen ironers, \$20.00 to \$40.00 per month.

Five laundry manglers, \$20.00 to \$35.00 per month.

Four porters, \$20.00 to \$45.00 per month.

Four shoe repairers, \$1.00 and \$1.25 per day.

Five tailors at \$3.00 per day and two at \$11.00 per week.

Thirteen waiters at \$20.00 to \$35.00 per month.

Thirteen laundry washers from \$20.00 to \$35.00 per month.

Some time ago a few Japanese were employed at stove-making, wages \$12.00 per week, but their work was so inferior that the management had to re-engage white molders.

Not alone in wages does the Japanese competition affect white labor, but in the number of hours employed. The white laundry workers receive from \$1.00 to \$3.00 per day and work 9 hours, while the Japanese work from 12 to 14.

The 3,000 Japanese employed as cooks, waiters and lunchmen work from 10 to 14 hours for 7 days a week, while the white man in the same occupations work only 6 days at a vastly increased wage. White cooks receive from \$15.00 to \$25.00 per week; waiters from \$12.00 to \$15.00; helpers from \$8.00 to \$10.00, the Japanese receiving from 40 to 50 per cent less wages for their labor, the white laborers' minimum being greater than the Japanese maximum.

The competition of the Japanese shoemaker with white labor is of the keenest kind. Previous to the fire there were 306 Japanese shoe repair shops

in San Francisco; many of them dividing their time with housecleaning, thus running two kinds of business under one roof—a roof sheltering from 6 to 10 Japanese, which would be scorned by the poorest white laborer and his wife, even if they had no children.

Count Hirokichi Mutsu, at one time Japanese Consul in San Francisco, writing in the *Overland Monthly* about 1898, and speaking of the special trades among his countrymen in San Francisco, very candidly enumerates some 220 business houses among which are to be found shoemakers, watchmen, photographers and barbers—in fact, every occupation previously enumerated in this report. Sixty-four professional men are mentioned—bankers, teachers and physicians. There were also 14 religious establishments throughout the State for the purpose of cultivating and conserving the patriotism and loyalty of the Japanese towards the Mikado.

Mr. Kawakami, a distinguished graduate of the Tokio College of Law, writing in a late issue of the *Independent*, of the wonderful progress made by his people, triumphantly points to the following figures and says: "A considerable Japanese farming population in California exceeds the mark of 10,000 by many hundreds. Classifying the farms cultivated by Japanese according to their size, we find 8 farms of over 400 acres each, 14 of over 300 acres, 75 of over 200 acres, 204 of over 100 acres, 123 of over 50 acres, 235 of over 20 acres, and 341 under 20 acres each, a total of 989 farms with an aggregate average of 61,859 acres. The discrepancy between the number of farms and the number of Japanese farmers is due to the fact that some of these farms are owned or rented by a company of several farmers."

In corroboration of the statement made by Mr. Kawakami, we quote from the Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Commissioner says that in Vacaville, about 3000 Japanese are employed during the summer and about 1200 during the winter. There are about 900 permanent Japanese residents in Vacaville, 150 of whom are engaged in mercantile pursuits. Five of them own fruit farms containing some 200 acres each. Sixty lease ranches and one man leases no less than three. The statement closes with the remark, "There is no business for the white merchant because the Japanese patronizes his own countrymen." Fresno during the busy season of 1906 had about 3000 Japanese employed. In this town about 50 are engaged in general merchandise, 25 own their own farms, none of which are less than 20 acres; one of them has 320 acres and there are two of 160 acres each. Twenty-five Japs lease vineyards with an average of 60 acres in each. Within the last three or four years they have gained complete control of the country around Fresno and they are virtually the dictators and arbiters in all matters pertaining to the cultivation and harvesting of the raisin crop. Watsonville, the central point of the Pajaro Valley, has a Japanese colony of 700 permanent residents, 500 of whom are engaged in berry culture, to the exclusion of the white farmer. These three localities are but typical of many others in the Central and Southern part of California and tend to show the inroads that are being made in every direction by the studious and ubiquitous "little brown man."

Shortly after San Francisco had commenced her rehabilitation it was discovered that the Japanese had invaded one of the most select of the residence districts of the city. An investigation was undertaken by the police authorities with the following startling results:

In the district bounded by Van Ness avenue, Steiner street, Market street and the Bay, Officers Cottle and Robl found as follows:

Residing in boarding houses, missions, etc., and whose occupations can not be ascertained..... 651

Occupations Ascertained.

Bazaars	64
Shoemakers	30
Housecleaners	15
Restaurants	33
Doctors	2
Fruit stores	19
Barbers	23
Groceries	8
Bankers	17
Tailors	21
Billiard parlors	9
Furnishing goods	11
Stationers	4
Employment offices	25
Laundries	10
Tin stores	3
Florists	2
Jewelry stores	3
Bath houses	10
Bakeries	11
Carpenters	2
Real Estate	9

331

Total number residing in district.....982

In the district west of Steiner, from Haight north to Pacific avenue, thence to the ocean, Officers Judge, Johnson, King, Rice, Miller, Wedekind, Boudette and Ceinar reported:

Laundries	2
House cleaners	13
Shoemakers	9
Employment agents	3
Florists	1
Curio stores	11
Restaurants	1
General merchandise	1
Porters	1
Employed at Chutes	4
No occupation	13

59

Total number obtained.....1041.

This report was submitted on July 27, 1906, or three months after the great fire, and the wonder is how could these people so quickly rehabilitate themselves when today, December 15th, thousands of our people are virtually homeless and poverty-stricken? The police in obtaining their information met with the same difficulties that have attended all attempts to acquire data as to the numbers, habits, occupations, etc., of the Japanese. People who employ them resent any inquiries as to the number employed and wages paid; some even denying that they employ Japanese, when it is known that they do so.

A COMPARISON OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA AND HAWAII WITH THAT OF THE PEOPLES OF THE TEUTONIC RACE.

That the Territory of Hawaii is becoming Mongolic, rather than white, has been apparent for some time. The question now before us is, "Shall California become Mongolic?"

The comparisons made in the following table between the immigrants of Caucasian and of Mongolic stock is not assuring to the former. It is true that thousands of immigrants are coming into the State from other States of the Union, and it is also true that thousands of Mongolians are also coming into California from Mexico and the States to the north of us. The Japanese population of Hawaii has decreased, if anything, since the last Census (1900), but California has received the surplus. The natural increase by birth would keep the Japanese population of the Islands at its present figure (60,000) without any immigration from Japan, and if the same policy is followed in California as has been maintained in Hawaii during the past twenty years, California is destined to become practically a colony of Japan. Nothing short of a drastic and prohibitive Exclusion Act can prevent this result. During the three years ending June 30, 1905, there came into California by immigration 22,664 persons of the Teutonic stock, which, in the table below, are segregated into the various divisions of that great race. These, when placed in comparison with the number of Japanese coming into California, with the ratio of increase of the immigration of that race, as shown by previous tables, are indicative of the short period which will elapse before the parent stock of the American people will be outnumbered and overwhelmed by the Mongolian race.

COMPARATIVE TABLES OF IMMIGRATION INTO THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII AND CALIFORNIA BY RACE DIVISIONS.

Teutonic.

Nationality—	1903.	1904.	1905.	Total.
Dutch	71	101	109	281
English	2,663	2,960	2,468	8,091
German	1,513	1,709	1,583	4,805
Irish	729	966	994	2,689
Scandinavian	1,643	1,416	1,582	4,641
Scotch	266	464	601	1,331
Welsh	29	49	55	133
Teutons to Hawaii	340	188	165	693
Total	7,254	7,853	7,557	22,664

Latin.

Nationality—	1903.	1904.	1905.	Total.
French	827	1,139	1,021	2,987
Italian (North)	5,534	5,945	4,628	16,107
Italian (South)	1,208	1,020	1,081	3,309
Mexican	299	134	69	502
Portuguese	1,057	1,028	901	2,986
Spanish	169	395	399	963
Spanish-American	212	202	201	615
Latins to Hawaii	33	20	15	68
Total	9,339	9,883	8,315	27,537

Slavic.

Nationality—	1903.	1904.	1905.	Total.
Bohemians and Moravians	31	28	39	98
Bulgarians, Servians & Montenegrins	200	131	67	398
Croatians and Slavonians	385	412	224	1,021
Dalmatians, Bosnians and Herzgovinians	204	367	301	872
Finnish	348	278	316	942
Polish	41	45	65	151
Roumanian	4	3	8	15
Russian	138	98	431	667
Ruthenian (Rusniak) .....	...	10	2	12
Slovak	36	40	27	103
Slavs to Hawaii	40	8	...	48
Total	1,427	1,420	1,480	4,327

Semitic and Hamitic.

Nationality—	1903.	1904.	1905.	Total.
Armenian	36	35	59	130
Hebrew	223	311	341	875
Syrian	57	6	20	83
Turkish	4	17	10	31
To Hawaii	0	0	0	0
Total	320	369	430	1,119

Mongolic.

To Hawaii.

Nationality—	1903.	1904.	1905.	Total.
Chinese	573	415	205	1,193
Koreans	515	1,884	4,892	7,291
Japanese	13,045	6,590	6,692	26,327
Total	14,133	8,889	11,789	34,811

To California.

Nationality—	1903.	1904.	1905.	Total.
Chinese	1	2,447	1,016	3,464
Koreans	38	8	22	68
Japanese	4,571	4,003	2,022	10,596
Total	4,610	6,458	3,060	14,128

Total Mongolic, 48,939.

The foregoing tables represent the total immigration into the Territory of Hawaii and California for a period of three years and are classified by

race into the various families or divisions of the Caucasian race for the purpose of comparison.

Teutonic peoples	22,664
Latin peoples	27,537
Slavic peoples	4,327
Semitic and Hamitic	1,119
Mongolic	48,939

Grand total104,576

Of this total the Mongolic division furnishes 48,939, or 48 per cent. California and Hawaii have been classified together because to all intent and purpose the Japanese immigration into Hawaii is but preliminary to that of the mainland.

The above figures represent the Japanese coming into the United States from the Orient only. Great numbers emigrate from Japan to Mexico and British Columbia who by various devious methods ultimately find their way into the United States.

The number of Mongolian immigrants (48,939) into California and Hawaii is double that of the dominant peoples (Teutons, 22,654) making up the population of this territory. The "Third Report on Hawaii," contained in United States Bulletin of Labor No. 66, furnishes convincing proof that the Caucasian peoples cannot and will not try to compete with Mongolians in their struggle for existence. What has happened in Hawaii will occur in California if Mongolian, especially Japanese, immigration be not checked. The Teutonic peoples will be the first to retreat before the advancing tide of Orientalism, next the Latin, to be followed later by the Slavic and Semitic families, though it is possible that the latter peoples will mix and be absorbed by the invaders.

The Chinese Exclusion Act is a recognition of the principle that the public welfare, at this stage of the world's development, demands the intervention of the law-making branch of the Government to prevent the unrestricted eruption of elements hostile to our institutions and who by reason of their mental characteristics are incapable of comprehending them. The fact that 86 per cent of all immigration into Hawaii is Japanese and that the same people greatly exceed all the immigrants of the Teutonic race entering California adds to the gravity of the problem.

SUMMARY.

Number of Japanese and Koreans in the United States:

Japanese	150,000-200,000
Koreans	11,835

Increase during past ten years:

Japanese	64,000
Koreans	11,835

Number of Japanese arrivals monthly during the past 12 months: An average of 895; this applies only to the port of San Francisco.

Number of departures monthly for same period: Average 260 for port of San Francisco.

Net increase in number of arrivals during past 12 months: 8408, for port of San Francisco only.

List of employments invaded by Japanese and Koreans: All employments except Master Mariner, Marine Engineers, Steam and Street Railway Employes, and officials of State and Municipal Governments invaded by the Japanese. Koreans are employed chiefly as farm laborers in the southern section of the State with a few in domestic service.

Average wages paid to Japanese as compared with whites: 40 to 50 per cent less

figures of Chinese, Japanese, Korean and white immigrants to California and Hawaii: Mongolians form 48 per cent of total immigration, and exceeds the immigration of peoples of the Teutonic race by more than 100 per cent.

7-14
22-11-1942

The Proposed Land Bills

THE OTHER SIDE



PRESENTED AND COLLECTED BY
THE JAPANESE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
SAN FRANCISCO, 1942

CALIFORNIA STATE
SACRAMENTO

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cents a day will b

The Proposed Land Bills

THE OTHER SIDE



Prepared and Published by

The Japanese Association of America
San Francisco, 1913

Total acreage owned by the Japanese in 1912, according to the State Statistics of Labor, 12,726, or 20 square miles, the result of the Japanese labor within the last fifty years.

Total square miles of California, 158,360.

Total square miles owned by Japanese, 20.

It will take the Japanese, therefore, 395,900 years to own California.

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The Proposed Land Bills

THE OTHER SIDE

During the last half century or more the United States has sustained a peculiarly close relation to Japan, for she it was that opened the doors of the Island Empire, introduced her to Western civilization and Christian ideals, and taught her her first lessons of fairness, freedom and equality. She it was that first recognized Japan as a member among the civilized nations and proposed to treat her as such.

In view of these past pleasant experiences and the favorable sentiment of a large part of the American public relative to Japanese affairs, it is almost unthinkable that so many bills of discriminatory nature should be introduced at this session of the State Legislature.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

Without doubt this is largely due to a misunderstanding of the condition of the Japanese in this State. To not a few examples, it has been said that the Japanese congregate themselves in one quarter and do not assimilate. And it has also been said, on the contrary, that the Japanese are unlike the Chinese in that they scatter everywhere. They mix with American people. They go to the public schools. They learn American methods, and are in sympathy with American institutions and ideals. In other words, they become assimilated. These two conflicting theories are working side by side in the support of the proposed measures in Sacramento. Again it is said that the Japanese can live on almost nothing and work very cheaply. On the other hand, we hear that the Japanese are a most extravagant people and demand enormous wages for their services. These two statements are diametrically opposed, but they have been used as the reasons for the Anti-Japanese legislation.

Some claim that the Japanese make money and send it home. Consequently, they are in no way helping American industry and business. At the same time another argument is advanced

that the Japanese make money, save it, and invest it in this country: hence certain people fear that they are going to buy up all the land.

If one argument is right the other is wrong, but all these conflicting theories and reasons are working side by side to create sentiment against the Japanese. Why? Because there is a great deal of misunderstanding on the part of the American people.

MISREPRESENTATION.

The amount of land owned and leased by the Japanese in California is frequently greatly overstated. On page 633 of the latest, 1912, report of the State Bureau of Labor Statistics, we find that the total area of farm lands owned by Japanese is only 12,726 acres, cut up into 331 farms and assessed at \$478,990. On page 635, we get the town lots so held as 218 in number and assessed at a beggarly \$136,955. That is to say, there are 549 separate pieces of land, valued at \$615,945. In all the years that Japanese have been coming here—and the number is decreasing—they have not acquired much more than half a million dollars' worth of California land.

Two years ago the State Legislature appointed a special commission to investigate Japanese conditions in California. The report was so favorable to the Japanese that it was suppressed from publication. The recently published Report of the United States Immigration Commission is equally favorable, and is well worthy of a careful study before final action is taken.

SMALL POLITICS.

The real purpose of the proposed anti-alien land bills is clearly revealed editorially in the *San Francisco Wasp*, as quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* of April 20th. (*San Francisco Wasp*): "The ostensible purpose of this alien land law is to prevent Japanese from holding land in California. The real purpose is to create a new agitation and thus galvanize a lot of discredited professional agitators and decayed politicians. The anti-Japanese agitation in California has been kept alive by the efforts of a combination of professional politicians, known as the Anti-Japanese and Korean Society, of which that delectable patriot, Olaf Tveitmoe, has been the nerve center."

These men have been in political life sufficiently long to recognize that the resident Japanese, without the ballot, is a convenient subject for world-wide notoriety in connection with small politics, and further that there would be little political harm to the agitator himself.

BUSINESS INTERESTS OPPOSED.

Commercial interests are not advanced in this way, and far-sighted business men are opposing such legislation.

A recent United States Customs report shows that San Francisco's exports to Japan for 1912 were \$18,182,316 or 33 per cent of the total, and that her imports from Japan were \$25,844,698, or 41 per cent of the total.

At a conference of thirty-seven commercial organizations, covering the entire State, including Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, Merchants Associations, etc., held in San Francisco February 20, 1913, action was taken opposing these land bills.

SAN FRANCISCO REAL ESTATE BOARD.

The San Francisco Real Estate Board, representing a majority of the real property interests of the city of San Francisco, vigorously opposed one of the bills as follows:

"WHEREAS, There is now before the Legislature of the State of California Senate Bill No. 5, entitled, 'An Act Defining and Limiting the Right of Aliens and of Corporations a Majority of the Capital Stock of which Is Held or Owned by Aliens, to Acquire Title to, Own, Hold or Lease Real Property in the State of California Providing for What Period of Time Such Aliens and Corporations May Lease Real Property in the State of California, Providing for the Escheat of Property Held by Such Aliens and Corporations to the State of California, and Providing for Divesting Title to Real Property so Acquired, Owned or Held and the Payment of the Proceeds Thereof Into the State Treasury for the Benefit of the State School Fund, and Repealing Conflicting Acts,' and

"WHEREAS, Said bill provides that no alien shall acquire title to or own or hold real property within this State, or any interest therein, except under certain restricted conditions, and

"WHEREAS, Said Bill provides that any corporation, whether formed under the laws of this State or any other State or coun-

try, a majority of the capital stock of which shall be owned or held by any alien or aliens, shall hold the title to or any interest in real property for a period not exceeding one year, and

"WHEREAS, Said bill further provides that any contract, agreement or lease affecting the title to or any interest in real property, for a longer period of three years, shall be null and void, and providing further that no renewal of any such lease or contract shall be made after the termination of said term of three years, and

"WHEREAS, Said bill further provides that all aliens now owning the title to real property must dispose of the same within one year from the passage of the said act or forfeit the same to the State of California, and

"WHEREAS, There is now invested in this State vast sums of foreign capital in real estate used in connection with almost every industry, all of which investments will, if said bill becomes a law, be withdrawn from the State, thereby seriously affecting the development of our resources, and

"WHEREAS, It is the sense of the San Francisco Real Estate Board that every effort should be made by the people of the State of California to encourage the investment in this State of foreign capital,

"Now therefore be it resolved by the San Francisco Real Estate Board that this organization, representing a majority of the real property interests of the City of San Francisco, vigorously oppose the adoption of Senate Bill Number 5, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to each member of the Legislature."

PANAMA-PACIFIC EXPOSITION.

At a regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, held Wednesday, April 23, 1913, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"WHEREAS, The State of California, at its urgent solicitation, was selected by the Congress of the United States, through the medium of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, to act in behalf of the Government as the host for the people of the United States, to all peoples, who may so desire, to join with the United States in celebrating the opening of the Panama Canal, by participating in the Universal Exposition of 1915, and

“WHEREAS, In pursuance of this Act of Congress, so passed at the urgent request of the State of California and its Legislature, the President of the United States invited all nations and all peoples, without regard to race, creed, political system or social development, to take part in the celebration of the opening of the great international highway, and

“WHEREAS, In accepting this trust at the hands of the people and Government of the United States and in special behalf of the State of California, the Exposition has been seriously requested, and has solemnly agreed, to provide every facility and to offer every encouragement that physical preparation can afford, or the broadest spirit of universal fellowship suggest, and has intended and still intends so to do, in a manner responsive to the invitation of the United States and to the sentiment of universal brotherhood that this celebration is intended to promote, and

“WHEREAS, Any action upon the part of the people of California, through its Legislature or otherwise, calculated to lessen the interest of all nations and peoples in the success of this celebration, will negative and nullify the implied and expressed covenants of the State of California.

“Therefore, be it resolved, By the Board of Directors of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition that any action on the part of the Legislature of California that shall be regarded by any foreign country or government as offensive to their pride as a people, or their honor as a nation, must and will challenge the good faith of the commonwealth of California.

“Resolved, That it is the deliberate and unqualified conviction of this Board that by accepting this great trust for the nation rendered of deep international dignity and import by the request of the American Government to all nations and all peoples, without exception, to share with our nation the gratification and pride all patriotic Americans feel in the tremendous gift of the Panama Canal to the world, with its immeasurable commercial and civilizing advantages, the State of California unquestionably pledged to all participants equal opportunity and courtesy and indiscriminating welcome and hospitality.

“Resolved further, That we, as a Board of Directors, deeply impressed with the responsibility we have assumed on behalf of the State of California, emphatically protest against the passage

of any measures in the Legislature of the State that are in anywise contrary to the spirit of the obligation incurred by the State at the time it assumed the responsibility conferred upon it by act of Congress.

"Resolved further, That the President of this Exposition be authorized and instructed to sign, and the Secretary of the company to place the seal of the corporation upon these resolutions, and to suitably engross and copy the same and transmit them to each House of the Legislature of the State of California with the request that they be printed in the Journal thereof, and to such other bodies or persons as, in the opinion of the President, it shall be deemed advisable to do, thereby confirming similar previous acts by this Board, and the representations of committees of this Board before the Legislature at Sacramento as well as official statements previously given to the press and public."

DELTA ASSOCIATION OF CALIFORNIA.

The president of the Delta Association of California strongly protested against all discriminatory and oppressive legislation directed toward the Chinese and Japanese, as follows:

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, April 24, 1913.

HON. WM. J. BRYAN,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

Representing the owners of two hundred and fifty thousand (250,000) acres of land in the Delta of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, I have the honor to present their protest against the proposed alien land bills, and other and all legislation oppressive of the Japanese and Chinese.

In 1909, the California Legislature ordered a drastic investigation of the Japanese question in this State and appropriated ten thousand dollars (\$10,000.00) to pay the cost thereof. This investigation covered freehold and leasehold lands, the estimation of Japanese by their neighbors, their value and need of them as farm laborers, their moral relations to society and the industrial, financial and social effect of their presence here. This exhaustive inquiry was ordered, in the language of the act au-

thorizing it, "to inform the Legislature and the President and Congress."

The investigation was made by the State Labor Commissioner, and the testimony taken by him, names of witnesses and all facts went into his report. The result was that this investigation so thoroughly disproved the ground upon which anti-Japanese legislation demanded by the legislators who promote it, that our State Government has suppressed the report and it has never been published! This is to be greatly regretted, because it deprives the President and Congress of essential facts, as the basis of judgment upon its issue that has no normal place in this State. The Federal Government might well order that report published.

When the legislation which you are here to consider, was proposed in such form that it struck all aliens and alien corporations and interests, and therefore was impartial, such scope of the measure was abandoned and members of Legislature declared that it would shut out foreign capital which is needed to develop the State. As the demands of capital were so speedily conceded, the rural interest of the State, whose lands produce necessities of life for domestic consumption and export, demand that the State and Federal Governments give equal heed to their needs.

The production of asparagus, onions, celery, raisins and sugar beets here, requires that its imperative primary processes be performed by Japanese and Chinese labor. It is work that requires a stooped or squat position, in a temperature exceeding 100 degrees, and the long legged and long backed white man will not perform it at any wage. The short legged and short backed Japanese and Chinese do it well, and so enable a production that gives work and wages to thousands of white men and women. The co-ordination of labor is necessary for the welfare and prosperity of the State.

The landowners do not want cheap labor. Japanese here are paid One Dollar and Sixty Cents (\$1.60) to Two Dollars (\$2.00) per day for ordinary farm labor, and in the raisin harvest they make Three Dollars (\$3.00) per day. This is the highest farm wage in the United States, but it pays a form of labor that is non-competitive and returns a good day's work for a good day's pay.

The foregoing is presented to you because the action now proposed in our Legislature will be only the prelude to further at-

tacks. The Legislature has already endorsed the Raker Bill, which was before the last Congress. That bill proposes to subject Government officers, ambassadors, etc., from Japan and China to humiliating identification; it forbids them the right to bring any member of their families over six years of age, and it provides that upon their recall by their government, they will be arrested on an administrative warrant and expelled from the country!

As the head of the State Department, you do not need to be informed that such a law would not only immediately terminate diplomatic intercourse with China and Japan, but all commercial intercourse also. Yet this Legislature has endorsed that bill!

The foregoing is submitted in behalf of the Delta landowners and other rural interests, and for the State Fruit Growers' Association, which in its annual convention has unanimously demanded the guarded admission of Eastern Asiatics, and the modification of the existing law.

Respectfully,

(Signed) JOHN P. IRISH,

President of the Delta Land Association of California.

FLORIN RESIDENTS.

In view of Florin, Sacramento County, having been frequently cited in debate as a reason for passing discriminatory laws, the following telegram to Hon. W. J. Bryan from leading residents in Florin will be of special interest as showing the prejudice attending such discussion:

SACRAMENTO, CAL., April 15, 1913.

HON. W. J. BRYAN, Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.:

In passing Assembly Bill to-day, Florin cited as reason for Alien Land Law. Facts according to pamphlet just issued by one of the signers of this dispatch, a resident of Florin and student of conditions for many years, a copy of which will be forwarded to you by mail, prove that present prosperity in Florin is due to Japanese industry. Many of the better class of landowners are not inimical to them and regret bill. Land owned by Japanese is largely too poor for the whites. Japanese industry makes it highly productive and profitable. Living standards are good and

growing better. They are not crowding out any whites but helping the community and State. Japanese are conceded by all fair minded residents here as peaceable, law abiding, moral, temperate, grateful and generous. Among so large a population of Japanese in some fourteen years, there has never been a white woman molested.

A. M. BROWN,
Vineyardist, Florin.

L. M. LANDSBROUGH,
Vineyardist, Florin.

J. P. BROWN,
Vineyardist, Florin.

J. A. SIMONS,
Vineyardist, Florin.

H. H. BUCKNER,
Pastor of Florin M. E. Church.

JAS. TOOTEL,

President of Florin Fruit Growers' Association of Florin.

It is worthy of special note that a large portion of the broad-minded American citizens have no sympathy with agitation looking toward class legislation, as may be evidenced by the following:

PEACE COMMITTEE.

Copy of telegram to:—

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., April 24, 1913.

PRESIDENT WILSON,
SECRETARY BRYAN,
GOVERNOR JOHNSON,
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR WALLACE,
CALIFORNIA SENATE.

The Interdenominational Peace Committee of Pacific Coast Churches, representing many church bodies, are opposed to any race discrimination in the treatment of the proposed Alien Land Bills. Recent United States Customs reports indicate that during 1912 the exports from San Francisco to Japan represented thirty-three per cent of the total amount of trade, while direct imports from Japan to the United States represented forty-one per cent of the total. We feel also that the effect of such legis-

lation will be adverse to missionary work both in Japan and America. While we do not fear any declaration of war, we deprecate the development of a hostile spirit which would be detrimental to the prosperity and interests of both nations.

ROBERT DOLLAR, President.

WILLIAM C. ALLEN, Secretary.

PREACHERS' MEETINGS.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., April 22, 1913.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR WALLACE,

and

THE STATE SENATE,

Sacramento, California.

The San Francisco Methodist Preachers' meeting, in special session to-day, urges that no action on the pending Anti-Alien Land legislation be taken which will discriminate against the people of any nation or nations.

Very respectfully,

C. E. IRONS, President.

FRANK I. WITTKAMP, Secretary.

The Presbyterian ministers of San Francisco and Bay Cities also passed a strong resolution protesting against discrimination.

STANDING COMMITTEE OF ORIENTAL WORKERS.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., April 25, 1913.

Copy of telegram to:—

SECRETARY BRYAN,

GOVERNOR JOHNSON,

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR WALLACE,

CALIFORNIA SENATE.

Recognizing the changing conditions throughout the East, desiring to establish such relationships as will promote international harmony and good will, and believing in the supreme value of Christian Missions among Orientals on both sides of the Pacific as a prime factor in promoting commercial prosperity, we, the Standing Committee of American Workers among Orientals, deprecate the passing of any discriminatory laws by

our State which will result in developing a hostile spirit, and hence most emphatically protest against any such legislation.

A. WESLEY MELL, President.

GEO. W. HINMAN, Vice-President.

MILTON S. VAIL, Secretary.

SPECIAL REASONS ASSIGNED.

Dr. H. B. Johnson, a superintendent of Missions, who travels widely in the West, particularly in California, and who has special opportunities for observation, presented a communication to the Governor and the committees of the Senate and Assembly, giving nine reasons why the proposed bills should not pass. This was about the middle of March, before the question became acute. Among the reasons not already referred to are the following:

1. While there is no discrimination in name, there will be in fact. The proposed laws, if passed, will affect the people of one nation much more than the people of any other, i. e., the Japanese; and will be understood to be directed especially toward them.

2. Such legislation will be much more harmful in its effects than if passed by a previous Legislature, in view of (a) The prolonged discussion. (b) The high character and standing of the men now composing not only the dominant political party in California, but the entire Legislature. (c) The strict observance of the Gentlemen's Agreement between Japan and the United States, resulting not only in greatly reduced immigration, but in a net decrease of Japanese population, and in a higher standard for those who come. (d) The correction, through investigation, of the unfavorable impression concerning Japanese immigrants, as shown by the elaborate reports of the United States Immigration Commission, recently published, which agree with and emphasize the favorable report concerning the Japanese, prepared by the State Labor Commissioner.

3. The Japanese Government has been, and is, very liberal in dealing with foreign peoples, specially Americans, in Japan. (a) When there was no provision in law, the Japanese Government and people encouraged long term leases. (b) For several years, special provision has been made to protect the property

of foreigners in Japan. With these provisions the representatives of the various Mission Boards, and other interested parties, have been perfectly satisfied. I quote an official statement of the acting Consul-General of Japan at San Francisco:

"Foreigners, as individuals, might not own land in fee simple, but, when organized under the laws of Japan, as corporations, they had the same rights as native subjects to hold real estate. This was true whether the corporation was formed in whole or in part of foreigners, and it applied to all other classes of real property, including mines. While, however, the alien, as an individual, could not acquire title to land, he had rights of lease which practically carried all the privileges of ownership in fee simple."

(c) The Diet of Japan has since provided legislation including reciprocity not yet promulgated in dealing with the land question.

Article I of this law relating to foreigners' right of ownership in land, is as follows: "Foreigners domiciled or resident in Japan and foreign juridical persons registered therein shall enjoy the right of ownership in land, provided always that in the countries to which they belong such right is extended to Japanese subjects and Japanese juridical persons; and provided further, in case of foreign juridical persons, that they shall obtain permission of the Minister for Home Affairs in acquiring such ownership."

4. There would be a decided economic loss in such legislation, as shown by the Report of the Immigration Commission of the United States. It is again and again stated that in many communities much of the land leased by Japanese was reclaimed and reduced to cultivation by them, or was first devoted to intensive farming by them. "In such cases," says the report, "they have added to the wealth of the community, and their farming has not necessarily affected the white population adversely. Volume 23, page 86. Many such quotations might be furnished."

THE CALIFORNIA PRESS.

No greater mistake has been made than to suppose that the press of California is anti-Japanese. The Los Angeles *Graphic* of April 12th says editorially: "There can be no marked objec-

tion by any foreign power to a State law that places all aliens upon precisely the same footing. It is when a discriminatory act is enforced that retaliation by a self-respecting nation is an inevitable sequence, and that will surely happen if the same type of prejudiced minds that gave us Chinese exclusion should succeed in enacting an anti-Japanese land measure to the infringement of the rights guaranteed under the federal international treaty. If Japan should be forced into such an attitude of reprisal and in a dignified way declare her inability to accept the invitation of this country to participate in the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915, it is not at all unlikely that her European allies would feel bound to resent with Japan this slight to one of the signatories."

In an editorial in the *Los Angeles Times* of April 20th we read: "The proposed law is neither wise, nor just, nor called for by any conditions now existing or likely to exist. It is shameful; it is iniquitous; it is a crime against civilization; its enactment would be a wicked and inexcusable blunder.

"We have tolerated if not invited Japanese to acquire and cultivate a trifling quantity of land, and engage in a limited amount of commercial and industrial pursuits in our midst. They are, as a rule, peaceful, industrious and law-abiding, though inferior to the Chinese in these qualities. They engage in no labor to the detriment of any American who is willing to work. The percentage of them to be found in our prisons and asylums is less than that of any European race. They do not detract from the wealth and prosperity of California. They add to it. There are no dynamiters, or I-Won't-Workers, or henroost robbers, or porch climbers, or highway robbers, or pick-pockets among them."

From the *San Francisco Argonaut* of April 12th: "The truth is that the bill now under consideration at Sacramento is designed purely for home consumption. It is intended for no other purpose than to coddle certain elements of opposition to the Japanese. That it will accomplish anything in the way of barring Japanese or others from the soil of California is not intended, probably not even desired. It is just a bit of cheap political buncombe, meaningless and ineffective in itself, useful only in that it may help somebody to get votes under pretense of being a Japanese baiter."

From the San Francisco *Chronicle* of April 13th: "Most of the freaks who are now advocating the alien bill a short time ago were vociferously applauding Roosevelt for threatening to send troops to San Francisco to compel the Board of Education of this city to permit adult Japanese to sit in the public schools of the city side by side with little white girls in tender years. It would be interesting to know what brought about their change of heart."

From the Fresno *Republican* of April 20th: "The Japanese part of California's problem, is an international matter and in all its international aspects it must, therefore, be settled by the national and not by the State government. The State's chief responsibility in this respect is to take no action on its small fraction of the problem which might embarrass the nation in its immensely larger responsibility to the situation. The maintenance of the present law barring Asiatics from citizenship; the scrutiny of the operation of the "gentlemen's agreement" to see that Japan carries out its promise effectively to prevent the migration of Japanese laborers to this country, and the holding of the reserve power of passing an exclusion law if it should be necessary—all these things are national concerns and are of incomparably more importance than the question whether the 12,000 acres of farm land now owned by Japanese in California and the perhaps 20,000 acres rented by them shall grow to 20,000 and 40,000 acres, respectively."

From the San Francisco *Post* of April 18th: "The weight of opinion seems to be that an alien land law of the kind proposed at Sacramento would be unconstitutional. The New York press is unanimous on that point, and Roger A. Pryor, a well-known New York lawyer, calls attention to Article VI of the Federal Constitution, which says: 'All treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.' Mr. Pryor adds: 'The bill California proposed to enact, even in its amended and mitigated form, involves a palpable breach of treaty engagements.' We do not quote Mr. Pryor as the ultimate authority, but give his opinion merely as a sample of the judgment of many others."

"President David Starr Jordan of Stanford University has given the subject much special study and has formulated these four propositions:

"1. Such bills as the propositions made in each current California Legislature to restrict land ownership by aliens are unconstitutional if directed against aliens of any particular nationality.

"2. They are invalid if in contravention with any existing treaty, this and the preceding being matters to be finally determined in the Federal courts.

"3. They are not valid if attacking the present legal right of ownership.

"4. They would, if directed against all alien ownership, have sweeping effect, not yet estimated.

"Dr. Jordan believes that a statute applying to aliens of any nationality, however disguised in phraseology, would rest on the impossible doctrine that a State may have relations with a foreign nation different from the relations with the country of the United States as a whole.

"The *Post* appreciates the serious objections that exist to increasing land ownership by Japanese in California, but it is futile to try to solve the problem by methods that in all probability will prove ineffective."

From the *California Christian Advocate* of April 24th: "Politically the United States must treat the immigrants from all nations on an equality basis. Trade and international Christian fellowship demand a policy of equal treatment. The social and economic problems, important as they are, and we take them at their full value, must be held to the standard of equality before the law. We think the time has fully come when an international policy of friendship and justice must be dominant. The Legislature is working on a bill to prohibit aliens from owning land in this State. There is a good deal of popular sentiment in its favor. While it is phrased in general terms, it is aimed specially at the Chinese and Japanese, because they cannot become naturalized. If there is reason to limit the colonization of Chinese and Japanese, there is also reason to limit European immigrants also. But whatever the emergencies, the principle

of equality must prevail. The whole question of immigration should be dealt with diplomatically. Japan has faithfully respected the wishes of the United States in reducing the number of Japanese coming into this country. That policy strictly enforced would measurably take care of the trouble arising from Japanese colonization. It is safe to say that any legislation which is not in accord with the international treaty will produce friction. There are Italian colonists, but sooner or later they are Americanized and become good citizens. The Orient is opening a new era in trade and in national life throughout the whole world. Any violent legislation against the Orient would be unfortunate and in the end have to be reversed."

From the *Pasadena News* of April 14th: "What a pother over nothing in this anti-alien land bill, which the self-harried legislators at Sacramento are agitating to the wasting of much good time. Supposing the Japanese, the Chinese, or the Hindoos do own a few acres of ground in the State, or desirable corner lots, what of it? Of all the silly, useless pieces of legislation this anti-alien bill is the most bigoted, the most asinine. Are we so afraid of the Japs and the Chinese that we expect them to move over here en masse and capture all our choice holdings? Let them come if they have the price. Their money is as good as that of the European investor. We venture to say that the men foremost in seeking enactment of an anti-alien land bill are of foreign birth. This country should be free to all, irrespective of nationality. Two generations from now even the Japanese will be good American citizens if we give them as fair a show as is accorded other alien races."

ADJUSTMENT SUGGESTED.

In a cable dispatch from Tokio April 19th, the following reference is made to Dr. John R. Mott, Secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association: "It is understood that President Wilson, who thinks so highly of Mr. Mott that he offered him the ambassadorship to China, sought a first-handed report on the situation, and that Mr. Mott cabled that the only solution is to grant citizenship rights to the Japanese in America, with the understanding that the Tokio government shall continue to restrict immigration of its subjects to the United States."

"Japan's Message to America"

(A REPLY)

Considering the impelling cause which moves the Japanese nation to desire the good will of the American people; the necessity to Japan of free intercourse with the civilization of the West, now shut off by immigration exclusion; the calamity which inevitably must befall that nation through a continuance of the isolation thrust upon her by this policy. The doctrine of exclusion shown to rest upon a mistaken belief regarding the effect of labor immigration upon wages of intra-country workmen; the popular opinion being that such immigration lowers wages, whereas, in truth, it raises wages and increases general prosperity.

It is the nature of every soul to assent to the truth, to dissent from the false, and to remain in suspense as to that which is uncertain; so it is its nature to be moved toward the desire for good, and to aversion from the evil; and with respect to that which is neither good nor bad he feels indifferent. For as the money changer is not allowed to reject Caesar's coin, nor the seller of herbs, but if you show the coin, whether he chooses or not, he must give up what is sold for the coin, so it is also in the matter of the soul. When the good appears it immediately attracts to itself; the evil repels from itself. But the soul will never reject the manifest appearance of the good, any more than persons will reject Caesar's coin. On this principle depends every movement both of man and God.—Epictetus, Bk. 3, ch. III.

BY
JOHN E. BENNETT
OF THE
SAN FRANCISCO BAR

Our National Tendency and its Goal

Being a discussion of the Political and Industrial direction of the United States under the influence of prevailing economic forces, and statement of the causes thereof, and the means to avert the conclusion to which those forces are proceeding.

Together with an Address before the Chinese
Students Association of America at its Con-
vention held in San Francisco in January, 1914,
upon

THE STUDENT IN ORIENTAL IMMIGRATION

Considering the effect upon China and Japan of the Policy of the United States in shutting off migration of the Orient with the West, the real cause that moves industrial migration, and the condition that confronts Oriental Students seeking education in the United States, by reason of these influences:

By JOHN E. BENNETT, of the San Francisco Bar

Copies of the above and the within pamphlet may be had by addressing the author at 1310-11 Humboldt Bank Building, San Francisco, Cal.

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(A REPLY)

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BY
JOHN E. ^{Edward} BENNETT
OF THE
SAN FRANCISCO BAR

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“JAPAN’S MESSAGE TO AMERICA”

(A REPLY)

By JOHN E. BENNETT

(Thirty-five leading Japanese contributed articles upon Japan’s industrial, ethical and sociological conditions, to the compilation of a book designed for circulation in the United States, entitled *Japan’s Message to America*. A copy of this work was by the editor, Mr. Naoichi Masaoka, sent Mr. Bennett with a request that he write his views upon it. Mr. Bennett selected the work as a theme for the following article.)

I take this book seriously. Here are two hundred and sixty-two pages of a bound volume, containing articles by thirty-four of the leading men and perhaps the most distinguished woman, barring the Empress, in Japan; the leading article written by the celebrated Count Shigenobo Okuma, now Premier of Japan, the compilation containing dissertations by the great Baron Ei-ichi Shibusawa, the most notable business man of the Orient; by Baron Kentaro Kaneko, distinguished in international law and in Japanese official life; by Baron Shimpei Goto, physician, sanitary engineer, civil governor, who conducted the wonderful sanitary service of the Japanese army during the Russian war; by Baron Rempei Kondo, president of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha; by Hon. Soichiro Asano, head of the Toyo Kisen Kaisha; by Hon. Tokugoro Nakahashi, president of the Osaka Shosen Kaisha—all great steamship systems of Japan; by Baron Buei Nakano, president of the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce; Dr. Juichi Soyeda, president of Nippon Kogyo Bank, whom we know so favorably and well in San Francisco through his visit here last year; Mr. Takejiro Tckanami, head of the railway system of Japan, president of the Imperial Board; Viscount Yataro Michima, Governor of the Bank of Japan; Hon. Kojiro Matsukata, president of the Kawasaki shipbuilding yard; Rev. Tasuku Harada, head of the Doshisha University; Hon. Eikichi Kamada, head of the Keio University; Mr. Masataro Sawayanagi, president of the Kyoto Imperial University; Mr. Kenzo Iwahara, managing director of the great Mitsui interests, the Mitsui Bussan Kaisha; by merchants, financiers, builders, educators, theologians, lawyers, journalists—all presenting articles bearing upon vital interests of Japan, the entire compiled under direction of the eminent editor Mr. Naoichi Masaoka, sent forward to the United States under the title of *Japan’s Message to America*, and distributed amongst our leading

people. Altogether, one would say, a remarkable volume and an extraordinary circumstance. I think, indeed, it is probably unparalleled in the history of intercourse amongst nations. There is no doubt that these men comprise the Japan of today. Eliminate them and the several interests for which they stand, and there is removed the vital heart of Japan, that remaining being the body and integument; in very truth the message is Japan's message, and it is directed to America.

The force of this incident may be realized when there is contemplated such a thing as a book gotten up through articles contributed upon matter of their respective affairs by such men amongst us as John D. Rockefeller in finance, J. P. Morgan in banking, James J. Hill and E. P. Ripley in railroads, J. Ogden Armour in meat packing, Andrew Carnegie in philanthropy, Joseph Choate in law, Elihu Root in statesmanship, E. H. Gary and Charles M. Schwab in steel manufactures, Seth Low in education, Mrs. J. Borden Harriman in social science, and on this Coast such men as William H. Crocker in finance and William S. Tevis in promotion, all articles written with special reference to the information of the Japanese people, with the leading article by William J. Bryan, compiled in a bound and illustrated volume under the editorship of James Gordon Bennett, and forwarded to Japan for circulation among her leading men under the title of "America's Message to Japan"; suppose, I say, such a thing as this would happen, how would it strike the ordinary American mind? We should at once look for the *reason* for an occurrence of this sort. It is no idle effort, the sending by Japan of such greeting to us; it is full of meaning; it is an act with a purpose. And so I, having received and read this book, look for its meaning, try to see its significance, to sense the impulse that moved it forth.

The purport of the book is obviously an appeal for the good will of the American people. It is a reaching out of the arms of Japan toward that people who first called her out of the night of feudalism and showed her the road to the higher light, not to forsake her, but still to point the way. This is manifest, but why such an appeal? What is there present in the situation or condition of Japan that suggests such a thing and makes the

*The following appeared in Current Opinion March, 1914, p. 174:

Japan in a Panic at the Growth of Russia's Army.—Words have not been minced by Yuan Shi Kai lately in expressing that feeling of hostility to Japan with which she has always credited him. His conversations with members of the diplomatic corps on the subject of Tokyo policy are amazing the representatives of the powers in Peking. Such is the gist of all the gossip streaming into European newspaper columns from the far East. Japan, as her attitude is defined in the German press, feels that the ruler of China has gone over to her foe. To the Manchester "Guardian" Yuan seems to be temporizing with Russia in Mongolia and with the Yamamoto government in Manchuria "until he feels sure of himself." Yuan's grievance against Japan has to do with the many revolutions springing up throughout the southern territory of the "republic." All are fomented, he thinks, from Tokyo. Yuan and Japan can agree upon one point only—the growing might of Russia. That theme fills the Paris press, receives attention, indeed, in London dailies. Unprecedented and enormous masses of cavalry, infantry and artillery have risen silently out of the Russian soil during the years that have come and gone since the war with Japan. The whole work of reconstruction and rearmament has been accomplished, says the London "Telegraph," within five years. The wretched armies of Kuropatkin in Manchuria, says the Paris "Matin," have been superseded by a host equipped with guns of the best and latest pattern. Fourteen hundred thousand Russian troops can be put under arms at once with an equipment more adequate than that of Germany's immense array. The Czar has an army reaching six millions on a war footing. These are the details which give Tokyo concern, we read.

suggestion of such force that it is carried into effect? Surely Japan is in some way so circumstanced that these, her leading men, have felt that at this time an overture of this sort should be made to the American people. What is it? It is, I assert, a thing unmentioned in the book itself. It possibly has not even a name among those who wrote these articles. It is sensed, rather than seen; it is apprehended, rather than felt. Japan is today like a fowl which, crouching close to earth, is conscious of a hovering enemy,* high in the distance, which it does not see. With the socialistic autocracies of Europe, whose internal economic administrations make periodic wars a necessity to purge themselves of population—with such powers present on Asiatic soil, interlaced in the internal affairs of China in such a way that when they pull apart the soil goes with them, with such a state of things existing, Japan feels herself surrounded by those who on the instant may become her foes; who, indeed, unless conditions change, must inevitably gravitate into such by the force of influences which she senses but does not understand. In this environment Japan, pushing her way into larger territorial domain, made necessary in order to establish somewhat an equilibrium in Asia, as well as to prevent areas falling into the hands of those who would hold them to her injury, finds herself calling for an array of arms which her resources cannot sustain. She realizes that she must possess a military and naval establishment sufficiently extensive to meet not only the war footing of the European nation in Asia, but such of its resources in Europe as may upon occasion be detached from thence for Asiatic service; and she is not safe unless this equipment equals that of the strongest European power on Asiatic territory. As the more she extends her colonial domain the larger must be her armament, her expansion becomes a peril. If she does not expand she is defenselessly weak; if she does expand she may thereby be made still weaker. In this predicament Japan turns toward her powerful friend of the times past, her patron of old, who called her forth, and whose protégé she became. She does not know why she so turns, but she senses security in American good will. She does not expect us to help her in future wars with arms and men, and yet it seems that in American sympathy there is some quality for her benefit as strong or perhaps stronger than these. She does not know what it is, but surely it is something—an enormous resource, a great property to the nation, this brotherly, almost fatherly friendship of the Americans. And what is the more tragic, this vast attribute Japan feels and apprehends that through some influence, in no way her fault, she has lost or is threatened with losing. What is then, this thing that has in it the meaning of American friendship? This also is not patent. Japan, these men of Japan who write this book, grope about in the condition to find it. They sense it; but who shall lay hands on it and hold it aloft—who shall point it out? Not one of these writers compass it, yet each feels it exists. What is it? It is LIGHT! It is that same light that has been pouring from America into Japan since the day of Perry's arrival in Uruga Bay. It stirred Japan

into a vitalized action, and increasing in volume with its forward movement, it dissolved all obstacles within Japan and brought the nation to a unit in the furtherance of its progress. Now, however, Japan feels that in some manner which she does not understand, something has gone wrong. She apprehends the wrong state of things, but does not identify its fact or its cause. Instinct moves her, nevertheless, to reach out toward us, not really conscious that what she would get from us, were good will normally existant, would be that which she really needs, that which once moved freely and which has been impaired, namely *light*.

But how has the inflow of this light been affected, how has it been really impaired—or is it indeed true that it *is* impaired; and is it true that its impairment is genuinely the thing that today makes uneasy the heart of every knowing Japanese? How? I shall tell you; and in so doing I shall mention the largest fact amongst you, and which none of your writers, who seem in your book to regard almost every salient thing that is Japanese, have said a word on. You will remark that after you had imbibed from the west a certain modicum of light, there came upon your people a desire to go severally into the regions of this light, to get into the fullness of it, and mingle with it at its source. Your rich became tourists, your poor became emigrants. Respectively in degree as they were able to proceed, they went. Some were “travelers for curiosity or pleasure”; some were students seeking matriculations; some were merchants seeking trade; some were laborers seeking work; all were men and women in quest of *knowledge*. This they acquired, in due course, and in due course they returned to Japan. The movement was, indeed, at no time large, but it began small and yearly grew, and as the westward flow acquired strength the eastward return kept pace with the westward growth. Thin edges of the movement started up with other nations of the illuminated west; Canada, Australia, and beyond. Why did they thus proceed? What was the effect of this movement? It was a stream of western knowledge flowing into the life of Japan. The returned pilgrims came enriched with new information, new ideas, new plans; many bearing material wealth which their activities in the west, during all the period of their residence here, had enabled them to acquire. They returned to take up the thread of their lives in their old home, amid the scenes they loved, and among the people of whom they were a part. Possessed of western knowledge, they proceeded to put this into practice amidst their erstwhile surroundings. A thousand things about them with which they have to deal manifest to them immediate need of improvement. A thousand opportunities for industry appear which before were unseen. These people set to work. Their considerable wealth which they have brought with them aids in their new endeavors. What does the nation gain from this? It gains uplift, development—gains it in the only way it can get it, viz., by increased knowledge of the people.

This process going on, five thousand, ten thousand, twenty thousand people per year returning, in a small nation, the flow ever annually increas-

ing, the nation from the start felt the vigor of this new light and life permeate all her veins. Japan was rising rapidly, stupendously; the Japanese heart beat strong, her breast was buoyant; the future of Japan was big with promise.* Had this gone on Japan would indeed have become the great nation which her far-sighted men believed were her possibilities and her destiny. How little would she have cared for the European gathering under his national colors on Asiatic soil. With her industries bristling with new and ever new enterprises, with the larger ones growing rapidly larger, her domestic exchanges vastly increasing, her foreign commerce enormously expanding, Japan could have pushed forward her territorial boundaries to embrace new lands and compass new peoples with every confidence and with every hope.

But suddenly, as a bolt from a clear sky, comes a mandate from the west, that this light which has been pouring in upon her through her returned migrants, is to stop; the migrants themselves are to be no more. The several thousands gathered in the west may, of course, return as they will; but thenceforward no new ones may come. The school of the west is shut in the face of Japan. Wisdom of the western sort is henceforth to be denied her; she must grow wise, if she will, through whatever processes she may engender, internally and alone.

Japan received the blow, not comprehending its meaning. The fiat seems to be directed only at her laborers; others may go forth as before. This seems to ease the situation somewhat. "A laborer does not amount to much, anyhow," she thinks; "if he cannot go into the west, he can stay at home; we need him here. Formosa, Korea, Saghelien, even Manchuria, there are lots of places he may go where Japan will be benefited by his presence." Japan forgets that her people are nearly all laborers. It is only the few of her population who are workers with the mind, the multitude are workers with the hands; and of her mind workers, they for the most part in their youth were hand workers. She forgets that the state of being a laborer is a mere occupation, and that of those who are laborers, the larger number are by nature capacitated to be workers, in greater or less degree, with the mind, and to become such they lack only light and opportunity. So as time passes Japan finds that while the edicts of the west keeping out her people seemingly operate upon laborers only, yet in truth all classes are held from proceeding thence. The movement to the United States shrinks from thirty thousand two hundred and twenty-six* per year, to seven hundred and fifty-nine† new arrivals per year, almost half of which latter is, perhaps, comprised of her official or semi-official representa-

*The growth of one port, for instance, Kobe, during the period of this migration from 1897 about when it began, to 1907 when it ended, rose from 740,851 to 5,497,782 net registered tons; an increase of the astonishing percentage of 641.8. This, while coincident, is not to be attributed altogether to freedom of migration during that period. The billion dollars indemnity which Japan received from China had much to do with this increase. But there is no doubt that this money would have been far less efficiently used, had free migration not existed.

†The figures for 1907.

‡The figures for 1911, the latest report of the Commissioner of Immigration which my library happens to contain, or which I have been able to find on this Coast.

tives and their suites. And what has transpired with the United States has happened or is in like manner happening with the whole white world. Canada, Australia, Mexico, Latin America having now set in upon the policy of exclusion of the yellow man without reference to his nationality.

How does this effect Japan? You men who have written this book—you feel it, yet you have not spoken it. Perhaps you do not recognize it, do not realize it, no more than do we here on this coast, and in this nation. If we did, we would wipe out these exclusion laws at the next session of Congress, opened with a message read by the President from the Speaker's rostrum denouncing these terrible and evil-breeding laws. But we do not realize the condition, for the operation of the forces which these laws invoke is silent; those forces are not dynamic, they are repressive; there shall be explosions in the end, loud and supernal enough, but the processes which produce such violence are subterranean. What is it that they do and are doing? *They are checking the development of Japan!* They are holding Japan back in that progress so auspiciously started, and needed absolutely by her if she is to stand off the incursions of the white. Unless this light is restored to her, which can be done only by a resumption of free migration with the west, her doom is already sealed. Without this, let her spread in territory as she will, she can but make things worse. The uplift of a nation cannot be effected through the sole vehicle of home teaching. The nation must become imbued with western ideals, and this can only be attained through western contact, and western contact is western migration. Unless this is resumed, and in full, free volume, Japan must succumb to the white invader. But two nations of the Orient are now left with native rulers, if we disregard the anomalous condition of the kingdom of Siam, ready to fall within whatever European hand shall close upon it. No one here on this Coast seems to have thought of the position of the United States, should the military despotisms of Europe divide among themselves the Orient. The sympathy of the United States with Japan in her Russian war, was a sympathy which all shared but none understood. There was abroad an instinctive feeling that for some reason which we could not explain we wanted, not particularly Japan to win, but *we wanted Russia to fail*. It was just that same sort of feeling that moves these thirty-five Japanese to reach out toward us in this book. They want our good will, they really know not why—it would comfort them to possess it. It comforted us to know that Russia had failed. Why? Because we were silently apprehensive of what it might mean to us to have a gigantic European power, absolute in government, military in instinct, *facing us on the Pacific in the possession of millions of men for whose lives she did not care, able in a twelve-month to turn them into trained soldiers for our destruction*. This is what made us wish well for Japan in that contest; it is the fear of this aggression that moves Japan toward us now. In the presence of a menace as terrible as it is real, we have the profoundest interest in Japan's rise and development. It is necessary for our safety, here on this Coast, that she become strong

and able as a civilized state of the highest order. That her productivity be increased in all the ways that modern knowledge can aid her; that her people become skilled in handling all the appliances and methods of modern science. We have permitted ignorance, selfishness and viciousness, to interpose laws which have shut off the great source of her light—migration. We know not what we have done. Our thinking people—and it is thought that really rules wherever men exist—do not understand the condition. No one has ever come forward to point out their danger to them. The peril of Japan is our peril; the strengthening of Japan is our protection. We must help the native governments of Asia to maintain their sovereignties. We have nothing to fear from them; we have everything to fear should their sovereignties pass into European hands. This “war with Japan” talk of which we hear so much in the United States,* does not mean war with Japan under its native sovereignty. It means that stupendous war which shall transpire with the European power in possession of its share of the partitioned Orient and whom we shall offend. It is a war which every thinking man on this Coast senses even though it be half a century ahead. It will occur only if existing conditions shall continue, and Japan pass from her native hands. The inevitable cause of this to-be war is *felt* though it is not recognized. It will arise as all vast wars have arisen, from the pressure of population against barriers which prevent migration. During the life of a nation population may outgrow, not the land (which is synonymous with subsistence) of the nation, but the knowledge of the nation. Imbue a people with sufficient knowledge, they have always abundance of land for their subsistence. The site of the City of New York was too small an area to serve a hundred Indians; it is far larger than is required to serve five million moderns. The difference between the modern and the Indian is *knowledge*. The Manhattan Indian moved out and made war on the people of the adjacent tribes. Accumulated population, pressing upon subsistence without, called for reducing the tribal numbers of population on one hand, and destroying those adjacent who preyed upon wild life—the aliment of the Indian—thereby reducing the volume of food supply. The miserable Indians did not, perhaps, recognize the cause which was driving them against their fellows across the Hudson; some trifle probably gave rise to the war. But in contemplating the true causes which move men in large actions, we must not consider as the cause the punctilio which immediately precipitates the conflict; we regard the effect when the action is over; and whatever the result is in the eyes of nature, that was the real purpose of

*The Hearst News Service, in a dispatch published several years ago, dated Washington January 11th, said:

Official Washington is discussing with zest today a speech made by Supreme Court Justice John M. Harland last night at the annual dinner of the Navy League. The speech was received with enthusiasm by the guests, among whom were government officials, congressmen, and others prominent in official life.

“I believe,” said Justice Harland, “that we will see within the next ten years an army of perhaps five million men in China, drilled and instructed by the Japanese; and when that time comes they will be in position to say to us of the white race: ‘You keep your country; we will keep this country; get out.’”

“I don’t say we will have war in the near future; but some time it seems certain that there will be a conflict between the yellow and the white races that will shake the earth.”

the war. Reading history from the standpoint of *results* of great movements of men, we see that the cause of all such vast mutations which the world has experienced, has been the violation of the natural law of intercourse amongst mankind. Where there was no intercourse between a civilization and a great people in darkness, the latter have invariably overthrown the former. The *Mena Tekel Upharsin* of this is, that the nation which holds a civilization is, for its own safety, bound to spread it. The Franks, the Scythians, the Goths, when their numbers became greater than their knowledge, pushed toward the light of the Roman Empire and submerged that civilization with their multitudes. The barbarian of central Europe when his increase exceeded his ignorance, moved toward the only light then existing, that of the East, and inundated the Holy Land with his numbers. In both instances they overthrew decadent civilizations and brought from thence into the home of the barbarian the light which had been denied him by the conquered peoples.

Perhaps I can better explain what I mean by the numbers of a nation outrunning its knowledge, by a concrete example: Take the instance of the flood district of China, the region of the Yellow, Huai, and Ko Rivers. But for the recurrent overflows this vast tract would turn off two large crops per year; whereas it has for a long time yielded not more than two crops in five years; hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants in consequence have starved, and are starving. Nothing is more pitiful than the tales of suffering and woe that come out of that vast territory, where Nature, with her inexorable hand, is smiting whole populations in her process of reducing aggregates to accord with the knowledge they possess. If this district and these people be let alone the latter will die off, until the number is reached that the country in the condition that nature has thrust upon it will sustain. While this is going on, however, scores of thousands of the venturesome men escape, become bandits, pillaging the peaceful people of other parts of China; better die the quick death of the executioner, than perish amid those you love who die with you of the slow agonies of starvation. China's governmental problems in the region become tremendously multiplied and accentuated. She must deal with lawlessness, with people who can contribute no taxes, who must even be sustained over long periods at public cost, if the lives of any are to be preserved. Sickness, misery and death; this is the portion of millions, the populations of entire states. I wonder if those men of San Francisco, with their stump and other speeches and their newspapers, who have caused the Congress of the United States to adopt against the Chinese people the policy of exclusion, shutting them from the light of this country and holding them in darkness, have, in any phases of their several psychologies, ever been touched for a moment with the consciousness that *they* have been the cause of these deaths! Or whether they are aware or feel that somewhere in the blue ether of space there are angels who are charging against their accounts the suffering and death which has befallen these people; for it would have followed as the

night the day that had exclusion of Chinese never been adopted in this country, China would, within the period of these past thirty years, have had hundreds of men, educated in the United States, enlightened in the science of flood control, who would have returned to their native lands, addressed themselves to the physical conditions in the basins of these rivers, and who would have turned the waters to fixed channels and secured the lands to the people, even converting the waters from elements of destruction to purveyors of beneficence through their distribution in irrigation. China would long since have had such men, I say, together with men skilled in finance promotion, who would have arranged the means whereby the funds to effect the improvement could have been obtained. But, shut off from western light, she had no such men. Even her rulers were unacquainted with any means to avert the doom with which it was assumed the gods had visited the people; Li Hung Chang, the most advanced of her statesmen, fell upon his face on the banks of the Yellow and implored the hand of heaven to abate the vengeance of the evil spirit whose wrath was presented in the river's rise. The prayers of Li were futile. God does not work that way. His demand is upon men to use their intellects to evolve light, as their numbers increase, and to deal with nature through the processes of the mind. God is benign. He does not demand of men impossibilities. He does not make it imperative that light shall come forth from these darkened minds of China. If he did, provision would be made in China for such evolution. He will reveal His light where conditions for its reception are most favorable, and when bestowed, it is there by Him delivered for the use of all men. And let me tell you, my brother, if you think that this universe is held and regulated by haphazard or by chance, that there is not an over ruling Power, in Whose hand lies every detail of life and action, from the whirling gases of the spiral nebula to the movement of my fingers as I drive this pen, every thought, every impulse, every deed—if you believe there is not such, I say to you, you have never delved deeply for truth. No man who thinks or tries to think profoundly in the realms of human action, but who at every stretch and at every turn stands face to face with God, and he knows it. Not through theological dogma or sectarian tenets have I reached this conclusion; for I have no church and no creed; but I have groped my way through darkness to the Great Light, and I know that this universe and all that in it is, is controlled by Law; harmonious, benevolent, just, beautiful in its nature and effects, but to disobey which, and persevere in disobedience, inevitably culminates in death. The strife of the mind is to see His laws, and seeing, to show them to men, that they may be obeyed, for in such obedience, and in that alone, there is safety as we know it on this earth. And I say to you that the laws of exclusion are in violation of the laws of God; that the light which is given in one part of the world, is there descended for the use of all. There is no greater crime than the shutting off of this light by the peoples who receive it from the peoples who need it, and who for it would migrate to

the place it exists if allowed, and such inhibition is the very essence of our exclusion laws. Li Hung Chang's prayers were to reverse the order of nature, and such prayers always fail and ought to fail. The millions in the stricken district weltered in their ignorance, despaired and died.

At last there came forth light. How the heart of every American man and woman should be thrilled that to us, who through the operation of our exclusion statutes have befallen the people of China with all this disaster, is given the privilege to change the condition in those valleys—to do for China that which, had we allowed her of our illumination, she could have done for herself. The American Red Cross, one of our few institutions organized to carry benevolence abroad, came upon the condition in Anhui and Kiangsu, whither it went in the cause of humanity to succor the afflicted. This League looked upon the region there with its intelligent American eyes, and resolved to strike at the cause of the trouble. It addressed itself to the Chinese government, and Charles Davis Jameson, an American engineer, studied the area and proposed a plan for flood prevention, estimating the cost at some twenty millions. A means was worked out for financing the enterprise, the lands and their products being bonded to meet the payments; China gave assent to the undertaking, and J. G. White & Company, an American contracting firm, is said to have undertaken to install the improvement. In a year or two the great scheme of conservation will be effected, and famine in that district will be at an end.

Famines are the most primitive scourges of the human family. The earliest endeavor of man at the dawn of civilization is to make assured his food supply, and as he moves upward in the civilized scale this tends ever nearer to certitude. We do not have famines in the United States; with us the mind has almost attained mastery over the conditions which produce crops. Crop shortages occur, and there are years of abundance, but the tendency is toward uniformly plenteous yields. If insects menace crops we destroy the insects; if frost threatens the young fruit, we pipe the orchards with oil, and when the mercury strikes the danger point the pots are fired, the temperature of the orchard raised for an hour or two, and the crop is saved. If any natural condition occurs that threatens crops in any district, at once that state of things becomes the subject of governmental investigation and aid. Withal, if shortage of unwonted severity in any region transpires, ready transportation by railroad conveys to the stricken inhabitants ample of sustenance from the abundance produced elsewhere, and the resources of credit of such people is always sufficient to tide them over for a season, while other opportunities of employment abounding near about them afford them means of directing their labors into channels, returning them self-supporting remuneration while the season for new plantings is coming on. The presence of a famine means that the country so suffering has not developed a civilization high enough to repair the primitive defect of nature which occasions such, and the famine in the districts of Fukushima, Amori, Hokkaido and others in Japan, now prevail-

ing, are evidence of this no less than is the famine in Anhui and Kiangsu. With both nations light from the fountain of the west is necessary to lift the suffering populations out of the perennial slough of dearth. In the case of China we have, through the aid of the Red Cross, projected our enlightened men into the locality to install the succor; in the case of Japan what shall be done? Has she yet developed men of her own who are able to work out her relief?

Such stresses as famines and general dearth are the conditions that breed foreign war. The male inhabitants of the famine districts would today welcome enlistment into an army, where they would receive sustenance for themselves, and wages wherewith to sustain their families. Famine or threats of famine have often driven forth hordes of people in arms to prey upon the substance of others; and the history of our own day shows that scarcity of food supply is not always necessary to start a great movement of unrest. Impaired supply of mental food is just as effective. The Mexican, shut away from the United States by our contract labor exclusion laws, is stirred with unrest by the adjacency of a civilization in which he does not share; so with the Macedonians against the Turk, so with the Quang Tung Chinese against north China. It is when wide unrest arises in the Orient, which always occurs when population has outgrown knowledge, that the great Oriental war which the future holds for us will occur. It will arise when the aggressive European powers have absorbed the Orient, and when conditions therein obtain, that foreign war or civil conflict becomes imperative. Then will come a hurling forth upon us of the human onslaught, directed by the highest militarism of the day, backed by the resources of a vast European nation. For that conflict the mind of the Orient is now preparing. The cry of "Asia for the Asiatics, down with the foreigners," an echo of the San Francisco sand lot cry of "America for the Americans, the Chinese must go," reverberates at times in both China and Japan. Our perennial California legislative assaults upon the Orientals* evokes mass meetings, cat calls and boycotts of American goods

*There are those who think that Japan having taken so seriously the California Anti-Alien Land Act, there having been incident to it so much interposition of the Federal authority, so many exchanges of diplomatic notes, so much discussion in press and public, and so much resentment displayed by the Japanese populace, that the California legislature will not, at its forthcoming sessions, venture again upon measures offensive to the Japanese people. Let me say to all who so think, that they are mistaken. The session of 1913 left much unfinished Anti-Japanese business, which the session of 1915 will take up, and to some extent put through, despite the existence of the Fair. The reason why this must be is not understood. All California legislatures since the early sixties have had before them anti-Asiatic bills, and rancorous discussions on these measures, whether there be legislation upon them or not, form features of every session. The reason of this is that the exclusion laws are restrictive. They impair human rights; they interfere with the free going and coming of people; they obstruct business; they are a constant source of humiliation and exasperation to all who come in contact with them, whites as well as Orientals. Those who have to deal with them—aside from the labor union immigrant agents who enforce them—for the most part regard them as outrageous, as existing through error of policy, as doing no one any good and being a general harm. It is very certain that, if let alone, these laws would soon come to be looked upon as a nuisance, and widespread demand would go up for their repeal. Accordingly they must be periodically sustained by some order of popular demonstration. The place and time for doing this is at the California legislature. Here at every session the claques are manufactured which declaim to the country that "the gates are closely guarded," and that California still holds to the policy of Asiatic exclusion. The Chinese have long since been so reduced in numbers in the state and their activities have so subsided, that they are now looked upon as negligible; the Japanese, however, are an enterprising and active people who go into business and try to build up themselves and their surroundings. Any expression of the

in the Orient wherever the name of Americans is mentioned. Let this hatred stew for a few decades, strengthening as its spasms recur, while we here, under the influence of those restrictive laws and doctrines which labor unionism has thrust upon us, tend toward that decadence, now so striking a phenomenon in that nation where labor unionism is in largest efflorescence, namely England.* When such a condition gathers and obtains, the countries will be ripe for war. We cannot tell in this day what may occasion the outbreak. It may be that some corporal of a guard refuses to salute a flag; or even that some warship hits a sunken mine in the bay; any spark in the carburetter may cause the explosion, but the real cause will be the hatred rampant between the people of the two continents, which hatred attends and grows upon non-intercourse, and only disappears and is replaced by good will where mutual *material* interests arise between the people, growing out of the presence of one in the country of the other. You cannot have good will between nations, expressed by mere perfunctory salutations and professions of regard. Good will, active good will, rests upon *mutual material concerns*; it does not and cannot exist while these do not obtain. For us to have a continuous interest in the Orient, the Orientals must be amongst us in considerable numbers, and be a part of our population. The quiet which abides with us for the moment on the subject of the Japanese is not necessarily an indication of the presence of good will; it is equally an indication of indifference. The test of good will between peoples is in the expressions that go forth when some harm befalls

Oriental's existence that makes him noticeable, makes him the subject of opposition; wherefore, of late years, the target of the California legislature has been the Japanese. The elements in the Chambers, also, who produce the anti-Oriental disturbances, are not dismayed by the fact that their performances draw attention and cause annoyance to the President of the United States and the Department of State, let alone the uneasiness and reproofs that come from Japan. These creators of trouble are pleased with the notoriety they receive and enjoy the sunshine of the spotlight. Anti-Japanese agitations will go on in California until the educated classes of the state acquire knowledge of the immigration question, and understand that the entire policy is wrong, that we need the Japanese here, and that the more who come to us to work the better off we are, and that harm can befall no one in consequence of people coming to help us in our labors. When the people so understand they will squelch the anti-Japanese agitator; but he will exist flourishingly until that time, an active creator of the hatreds stored up against us, for which, unless our policy be reversed, we must answer in the future. Meanwhile no expedients can possibly help the situation. The talk in Washington at this time of an act of Congress confirming the rights of Japanese now living in the United States to own and lease land, and of a new treaty granting them naturalization, should not be discouraged. All things possible favorable to Japanese should be welcomed, provided there is not coupled with such accessions some denial of the rights of others to enter the country, or some proscription or differentiation against them when they are here. Under such latter conditions the proposals should not be accepted. Any relaxation of our hard policy toward the Japanese, however, unaccompanied by a sentiment arising through popular understanding of the problem, will merely intensify the disturbances later to be created by the phobists. The only remedy is popular education upon the subject.

*There are over one million eighty-five thousand registered paupers in England, a country of about one-third the population of the United States. This widespread pauperization is a logical corollary of the centripetal force in England's industry, the labor union—a principle that centralizes the industrial field with a labor aristocracy at the hub, and at the periphery sloughs off millions into enforced idleness and destitution. The registered pauper has not specifically appeared in the United States, in so far as I am aware; but unregistered, he is already here in considerable numbers, as witness our roving bands of I. W. W. The presence of this perennially idle element, which soon becomes physically unfit and psychologically unwilling to encounter any labor task, constitutes, in the minds of many, an added confusion on the immigration question; as where the labor union convention which recently met in St. Louis adopted a resolution against admitting to the country any more labor immigrants, from whatsoever nation they might come, until all out-of-work persons in the United States were employed. Such a closure would be permanent, and constitute another milestone on the high road to national dissolution; as it is the forces existing that produce the idle laborer, and the incoming of those who work, always superior in desire and fitness for labor to this unemployed mass, produce the conditions which afford the opening of jobs for the latter class. See pp. 30-31 herein.

the subjects of their concern. An opportunity was presented to Japan to display the degree of this solicitude when the earthquake calamity overcame San Francisco in 1906. In that day thousands of Japanese were amongst us, and our immigration of Japanese that year had been over 15,000. Japan sent for our relief on that occasion the munificent sum of \$250,000 and we accepted it, and forwarded to them the official expressions of our thanks. When the eruption of the volcano Kagoshima and the incident earthquakes with attendant loss of life and property on the island of Hyushu happened recently, simultaneous with the prevalence of the vast famine in the north of Japan, San Francisco manifested the same silence toward Japan that usually obtains when Mr. Tviertmoe is engaged in court business in Indianapolis, and the California legislature is adjourned. The Japanese here had become very few, and Japan and the Japanese had ceased to stand as any factor in our affairs. The leading gentlemen of this city who a year ago sat at the board of Mr. Juichi Soyeda on the eve of his departure for Japan, and told of the current good will hereabouts for that nation, did not come forward with proposals of public subscription for relief of the distressed in the stricken districts, for the reason, without doubt, that they were severally apprehensive of inconvenience which might attend them through their advocacy of benefit for an unpopular people. In so far as San Francisco went, one here would never have known that widespread suffering through natural causes prevailed amongst thousands of our fellows in Japan. The President of the United States took action, however, made an appeal to the country for funds, and appointed the Red Cross League to receive and forward them. I do not know the amount which the country sent, but of whatever it sent San Francisco contributed eighty-three dollars and fifty cents.*

Good will, in any effective degree, cannot exist between the people of closed nations. The very existence of closure is a state of passive war. Just as soon as intercourse ceases, trouble begins to arise. No one in the United States ever heard any war talk about ourselves versus Japan, until the Japanese were excluded in 1907. Talk of war thereupon instantly arose, the first to remark it being President Roosevelt. At the time of Commodore Perry's visit to Japan in 1853 Japan was a hermit nation in that she had no intercourse with the west. Japan has always hailed this visit of Perry's as one of the greatest events in her national career, regarding it as the opening of the country to the world, starting her upon a course of real progress. It would be interesting to contemplate in what particulars as regards this opening Japan differs today from her condition prior to Perry's

*At a later date a group of members of the Japan Society of America interested themselves to procure contributions of San Francisco, and several hundred dollars more was raised; but the effort bears out my statements, that mutual material concerns move sympathy. Various of those on the committee had interests in some way related to the Japanese; some were in sympathy with them because of their art, or through past associations; some had business relations with them. There were none who were doing their work merely through altruistic concern because human beings somewhere were suffering. To the contrary, in the case of each committeeman there was a special reason, based upon *contact with Japanese* and its incident sympathy, why he should interest himself to succor their afflicted.

visit. In one case she was closed from within, and now she is closed from without. For if her people may not go forth to take part in the affairs and interests of the west, it would surely seem that her "opening" by Perry would be a mere phraseology. True, she may send forward certain cargoes of the few chief articles she produces, and exchange them for effects of the western nations; but trade under such conditions will not greatly increase, and it exists in constant peril of being shut off almost entirely. When western science has produced synthetic silk there will be little use for Japan's cocoons; and when the next high tariff wave overcomes the American Congress, the South Carolina tea ranch will loom larger on the horizon than it did in 1894 when in its interest a protective tariff was imposed upon tea, and the American people were required, to a large extent, through incident high prices, to abandon the use of that article, which in turn compelled the Japanese tea farmer to uproot his trees, and the Japanese people to forego a product with which they had been purchasing such American goods as they desired; when this incident again arises, I say, Hon. Kahei Otani will find that the President of the United States will not extend to him that cordial greeting which he received in 1898 from President McKinley, on the occasion of his visit to induce the American government to remove the duty on Japanese tea; for a President who would harken to the voice of the commerce of Japan in the presence of the hatreds since manufactured in the nation against the Japanese people, would be instantly the target of a whirlwind of Pacific Coast legislative and other indignation and assault. Nor, indeed, would Japan's sense of dignity permit her under such circumstances to ask the concession. Requests between friends may be freely made, which in the presence of strained relations, neither side would venture. What Japan needs and absolutely must have, if she is to hold herself in place, is not only great surpluses, but great variety of productions. Don C. Seitz, managing editor of the New York "World," in his article on the "Japanese Overload,"* says Japan is a country without surpluses of anything save raw silk and tea. He says:

"The village toothpick-cutter splits his tiny splints with micrometrical accuracy, and regulates his output with equal exactness, so that he shall not have one more than may be required to provide for the next day's need in rice and pickles."

We have no such toothpick maker in the United States. Why? Because we make toothpicks by the million with machines. Our village toothpick maker has had the faculty of his hand multiplied a hundred thousand fold by the thought of some genius who has devised a mechanism which released him from a frivolous toil, and dignified him with the power of a producer in large measures. What is true of the toothpick maker is not less a fact with all other crafts and callings. The naked slave no longer threads the clay with straw to fashion sun-dried brick, but restless ratchets tear away the earth and stack the bricks by millions scarcely touched by human hands.

Japan must supplant the hand with the machine, the empiric with the

*North American Review, June 1913.

scientist. To have great armies and navies and to be able to conduct wars in her national defense, she must possess vast industrial power; must multiply the industrial potentiality of the individual through use of the modern effects of the mind,* so that she can not only spare men from industry, but can abundantly sustain them, their ships and munitions when they are so tolled off. This it is entirely possible for her to do. There is a vast field of possible and varied yield and manufacture in Japan's zone of human action, through the development of which she may become rich, great and powerful; but to develop this requires *thought*, and thought is not the progeny of an arbitrary aggregate, of a specialized few. It arises among the people through general diffusion of knowledge; not theoretical, book knowledge, but knowledge fraught of experience in practical, human contact, such as only intercourse supplies. There is no oligarchy of the mind. The parvenus of genius will arise in the cotter's household more often, indeed, than they come forth from the loins of belted knights. The condition that generates the master minds is freedom, equality of opportunity, unimpaired access to knowledge, the untrammelled right to venture forth and go any place where incentive calls. Shut off from migration with the west, Japan is closed to the stimulus that stirs thought; is shut away from the region where ideas abound in largest volume. Japan at present does not recognize this. A nation which within the business lives of living men was so tightly sealed to foreign intercourse that to have in one's

*Western civilization may be said to express itself through its methods and devices. These are the foundations of its industries, the creators of its greatness. Let me illustrate by taking two industries resting upon inventions, neither of which are more than fifteen years old—the automobile and the moving picture. The auto car, while an invention long anticipated by various contrivances for the utilization of steam in traction upon common highways, came into general use through the invention by Daimler in 1884 of the internal combustion engine. This, applied to a carriage, was worked upon by inventors in France, England and the United States, until last year, in this country, the output of the industry was valued at approximately \$250,000,000, and \$27,000,000 of the product was exported. The business now engages hundreds of thousands of hands in its various branches, not the least of which comprises many thousands of chauffeurs.

The moving picture device has established an industry in which \$200,000,000 is said to be invested in the manufacture of films alone, giving employment to 200,000 persons, and exports of these products amount to over \$6,000,000 annually. Aside from this, thousands in all parts of the country are employed in conducting shows through the use of these reproductions.

Two other conspicuous inventions now entering into large industry are the aeroplane and wireless telegraphy. But consider the million others; to what marvelous uses is paper applied; car wheels, cog wheels, containers of all kinds, cooking utensils, wood in carpentry, pipes, clothing—a seemingly endless variety of objects. Consider the metal, aluminum, extracted from clay, and brought into practical effect but a few years ago, what thousands of uses it now supplies and how extensive the industries it supports. Take such a substance as bog peat and consider the wealth of articles reduced from it; carbon pencils for electric lights, artificial wool, preservatives, sheep dip, paper, naphtha, paraffin wax, tar, sulphate of ammonia—the performances of science seem almost endless. The United States is replete with these effects, but in Japan they are practically absent. These works are not the achievements of one, but of many men, all inspired by the impulse and stimulated by the prospects of reward for doing something of human benefit never effected before. In a country in which practically the entire population is made up of labor immigrants or their descendants, hundreds of thousands of these men are of humblest origin. The chief amongst them, Thomas A. Edison, was a newsboy. The essential condition of this vast realm of inventions has been free atmosphere, free movement of the individual anywhere he may be pleased to go.

This spirit of evolution is not essentially western. It is as inherent in the Japanese mind as in the American. Where Japanese have been placed in an environment of invention their researches produce results which distinguish them. Take the instance of Prof. Hideyo Noguchi and Prof. Jokichi Takamine, one celebrated in bacteriology, the other in chemistry. Japanese have attained eminence in many other departments of science, but unexceptionally where they have been brought into contact with the knowledge and life of the west. Japan can only develop a population amongst whom arises that order of inventions that create industries and so furnish higher kinds of occupation for her people, by having the freest opportunity of contact by her people with those of the west, a condition which necessarily entails entire freedom of migration.

possession a foreign book was a crime; where an attempt to leave the country was punished with death; where sea-going ships were not permitted to be built; where foreign trade was interdicted, and where the only western people allowed in the country were a few Dutch, who were confined to an island 80 by 200 feet in area—to the people of such a country, it is not at all remarkable that they should not view the shutting off by the west of their migration as a matter of significance or concern. Japan for two hundred and fifty years sent no migrants abroad; what difference can it make that they be now kept at home? Aside from this, the number of the people who went out during the period when the west suffered them to come were so few, how could they possibly have any influence upon Japan's development? Perhaps in all the period of the Meiji era, not over 400,000 of Japanese went from Japan into the west. How could such a relatively small number make any impression upon the nation as effecting its rise, even assuming that many returned and brought with them western knowledge? I reply, the processes of thought are extremely insidious; we do not realize in many cases that it is transpiring at all, and know of its existence mainly by comparing the present with the past. A very few people returning from abroad may affect the entire nation. Japan has a handful of students studying at colleges in the west; these lads are constantly returning to Japan, where they immediately take part in affairs, and exert a powerful influence upon the life and development of the country. The roster of returned students would not be large, yet the influence of their work upon Japanese progress has been immense. And what is true of students, is true in degree of every man and woman of Japan who has returned to the country. A single returned emigrant will move to a wider development his entire family and a score of his neighbors; while the money he sends home during his absence, amounting to \$100 per year per man, leavens his household, and lifts the nation. Equally as great as these influences is the fact that a member of a family abroad moves the interest of those at home with sympathy with the nation wherein he abides. The minds of those people are turned toward America where the son or daughter are living, and are thereby receptive to every influence that proceeds from thence. Interest and curiosity are turned toward the country; letters describing the youth's surroundings and life are eagerly read; geography and history, often the very language is studied, and the offspring of that family remaining at home acquires new ideals and aspirations, so drawn from the country where the brother is temporarily staying.

Through the influence of the few annually returning students (which may continue until the exclusionists of the west prohibit their entry as they have already threatened to do), added to the literature of the west, which she is free to receive, Japan might meet her earthquakes, eruptions, tornadoes, pestilences, famines and else, that tend to destroy civilization, and move slowly upward; but she is not at liberty to proceed slowly; she is hooked on to the world movement, and she must keep its pace. She must

develop, and that rapidly, if she wishes to hold her own in this movement, else she will inevitably succumb. If Japan should now attempt to close her doors to the world as she did in 1641, how long would her native sovereignty last? How many years will it last with her doors closed, as is now the case? Japan did not willingly open herself to the world in 1854. She would gladly have remained a *terra clausum*. It was Perry's squadrons, the later bombardment by the British fleet of the capital of the Satsuma daimyo at Kagoshima, and the subsequent destruction of the Choshu batteries at the sea of Shimonoseki, that destroyed the exclusion party in Japan and convinced the common sense of that country that the day had come when isolation could no longer be maintained; that unless the science and methods of the west were admitted the country would be helpless in the presence of the white invader, and would be consequently overrun by him. As there are men now living who knew the days of the former closure, so there are men now living, I assert, who, unless exclusion by the west be withdrawn, will live in the days when the domain of Europe will extend to the shores of the Asian Pacific.

Nor is this closure of which I speak one-sided. We who have closed the Orient are in like manner closed against the Orient. As I have often elsewhere remarked, it is the nature of error to proceed along its course until its effects become intolerable, when the error will either be corrected, or its effects being so involved as to conceal the error, there is destruction through war of those who practice it. It is only truth that is static and unchangeable. That the closing of this nation against the world which will be secured when all migration is shut off, will produce war, there can be no possible doubt. That to shut off migration with half the human race will in like manner produce war, there can also be no question. No nation can close herself to the world or to half the world, and not bring upon herself the war that isolation induces. The resistless demand of mankind for intercourse with mankind will overcome all barriers, and press human relations upon peoples desirous of dwelling beyond the pale of such. It was so with Japan and with China and must likewise be so with us. Japan's closure was never more perfect than that to which the United States is now rapidly tending. We have shut out the Chinese by statutory enactment; the Japanese are inhibited by a convention note through which Japan withholds her laborers, which, experience shows, makes practically everyone else unwilling to come. The Hindus are refused admission upon a mere administrative rescript without the need of any law. In effect, all Asiatics are excluded. Now, as for Europe; the advocates of exclusion have approached the European warily; they do not stab his government with a paper billet and demand its signature as we did with China, or ride rough shod over a defenceless people as we did with exhausted Japan at the close of the Russian war. They propose measures of stealth. "Objectionable immigration" is to be curtailed. This immigration is such as "will not assimilate with our civilization"; that "lower our standards of living"; that "expose

our working people to unsafe and unsanitary working conditions''; that ''interfere with the maintenance by the labor unions of the American standard of wages''; and so on *ad libitum*. The particular races against whom this endeavor is now aimed are the inhabitants of Southern Europe—the Romans of Caesar, the Greeks of Pericles; these are the men at whom the exclusionist orator in Congress, at the behest of his labor union constituents, now points the finger of scorn and says they are unfit to dwell upon the soil of the United States. Exclusionists devise certain expedients of circumvention for resisting the entry of these people. Several of these are ''increase of head tax''; ''a differential increase on single as against married men''; ''exacting of an immigrant the qualification of an applicant for enlistment into the United States army''; ''arbitrarily limiting the number admitted to a fixed percentage based upon the number of such nation already within the country''; ''the literacy test,'' etc. It will be remarked that the above are only proposals. They are like the seven varieties of bills brought forward in the last California legislature for disabling Japanese and Chinese by restricting the occupations in which they may engage in this state. Of these, however, the alien land bill passed—sufficient indeed for one turn of the legislative calabash, preparatory, as freely stated in that body during debate, for the next session. So among those proposed in Congress; the literacy test scheme passed.

By this latter it was planned that any immigrant who could not read a slip handed him by an inspector containing forty words in his own language, should be excluded from entry. The physical strength, the moral character, the intellectual stamina of the immigrant was not to be taken into account; he was to be subjected to trial of book learning; a reversion to the old principle of benefit of clergy. If the man had been raised amidst surroundings which denied him the opportunity of acquiring schooling, his misfortune was now to be used against him by the country whose institutions were assumed to be based on freedom, and whose boast it was in time past that men are equal. The exclusionists who brought forward this project of oppression in fact cared nothing about education of the immigrant. Forty words of printing could not make a man better or worse, and while the subterfuge of literacy was much talked upon during the debates, it was nevertheless understood that the real purpose of the proposed legislation was to keep people out of the country. It was estimated that 30 per cent of those who came would not qualify upon the test arranged, whereby some 400,000 persons who yearly now come would be denied entry—a greater number than comprised the total immigration of Chinese and Japanese to the United States in the forty years of their immigration freedom.

In the medley of nations swept by this universal dragnet, however, was the Jew. Yiddish was one of the languages in which the fateful forty words were to be propounded. The Jew, therefore, like ''the Chinaman and the Jap,'' was to become the victim of a new degradation. And it was

the Jew who saved the situation. The measure passed both House and Senate and went to President Taft for his signature. The Secretary of Commerce stoutly opposed it, pointed out the flimsiness of the pretence upon which it had been moved through Congress, that it was aimed to secure to the United States a superior class of immigrants; he denounced the absurdity of the hypothesis that the coming hither of men to work could be a harm to workmen here, and declared that the country needed all the workmen it could get. The assertions of the secretary were wise, noble and patriotic, but they drew upon his head the active wrath of the labor unions. Upon receiving the views of the Secretary, President Taft vetoed the act, and it was returned to the Senate, which passed it over the veto by a two-thirds vote with eighteen votes to spare, and it went to the House. Here it failed of re-passage by five votes. Julius Kahn, a Jew, Congressman from the Fourth District of California, had killed the measure.

A survivor of centuries of oppression of his race by dominant peoples, amidst whom the Semities were situated quite like the Orientals are and have been situated on the Pacific Coast, this California Congressman had behind him a long record of speeches against the Chinese and Japanese, in which he used the same arguments opposing these people that the Jew baiters of Europe have time out of mind employed against the Hebrew. Now these arguments, having overcome the Asiatic, were again being recited to the House to do service against the Jew, from Russia, from Austria, Germany, from everywhere; and Julius Kahn stood before the body to resist, in defense of his own blood, the treatment which he had so often urged upon Congress against the Asiatic. I can conceive of no more pathetic figure than this magnificent Jew, a perfect specimen, physically, mentally, morally of the best of his race, moved in the past by what he deemed the exigencies of Pacific Coast politics, to denounce with proscriptive laws a defenseless and necessary people—the Chinese and Japanese—now facing this same House, suppliant for his own race, about to become the victims of those same laws, and of the same malignant policy which he had so long promoted and sustained. Here he was using against the proposed legislation the assertions and logic which the antagonists of exclusion had used against the enactments of 1882, 1892, and 1907 and which he had flouted as being without merit. As against the Burnett-Dillingham bill, he said:

“This matter of restriction of immigration is not a new subject, and the present agitation is but a rerudescence of anti foreign agitation that has occurred periodically from the very beginning of our government. Benjamin Franklin deprecated, in 1753, the great influx of Germans into Pennsylvania. Immigrants from France, from Scandinavia, the Swedes, the Danes, have all in their turn been opposed. The outcry against the Irish and Germans grew loud. The churches of the Irish were desecrated. Their children were subject to petty persecution in the public schools. The Germans were publicly denounced. Their newspapers were mobbed, their Turner halls were wrecked. In 1853 this feeling against foreign immigrants had grown so acute that the Know-Nothing party was organized. It was

directed expressly against foreign immigrants. In the elections of 1854 it was very successful and elected a large number of members of Congress. In 1856 it had grown strong enough to put up a candidate for the Presidency, Millard Fillmore, but he carried the electoral vote of only one state—Maryland. Let me call the attention of the members of the House to the mural decoration on the extreme right of this Chamber. It presents a scene in Washington's headquarters at Yorktown in 1781. It is interesting to note that the artist, Brumidi, incensed at the attacks that were being made upon foreigners during the exciting period while he was at work on that picture, signed the painting 'C. Brumidi, Citizen of the U. S.,' so as to emphasize his citizenship and patriotism. I merely cite this incident to show how bitterly the patriotic foreigners of the Know-Nothing period resented the petty, narrow, unpatriotic, un-American attacks that were made upon them at that time."

"The cry against the immigrant," he says, "has made itself heard in nearly every period of the existence of the Republic." Yes, but the common sense of the nation and of Congress was strong enough to resist it, steadily, until 1882 when reason broke away before the cry from the Pacific Coast against the only immigrants who were entering the country from that side, and concerning a people whom it was peculiarly fitting and necessary should have a large population on our coast in order that business in magnitude might be carried on between ourselves and their countries; a people who were, indeed, our people, from the fact that they were our neighbors, facing us upon our ocean. If the Chinese had been entering upon the Atlantic seaboard, instead of upon the Pacific, it is quite certain that no Asiatic exclusion laws would ever have been passed. The police of the states of the eastern coast, who had so often clubbed down the mobs who assailed the Irish, would have been quite competent to have dealt with the roughnecks who should attack the Chinese or Japanese, and they had a summary way of handling a soap box orator who harangued a crowd against a race of immigrants. On this coast, however, these elements of disorder, being not properly resisted, got the upper hand. The politician, seeking popular favor, gave ready ear to them. Many sincere men in high position became infected with race antipathy, and saw in the Asiatics the same offensive personalities that the English saw in the Irish when Thomas De Quincy and Thomas Carlyle were writing their tirades against the latter migrating from Ireland into England. The California Know-Nothings were able to get through Congress against the Chinese the exclusion measures which the Maryland "Plug ugly," with all his Members of Congress, and his five governors of states, was unable to secure against the "Pope's Irish," the "poverty stricken English," the "dirty Dutchman" and the various epithetical assortment of Scandinavians and other outlanders who were commonly categorized as the "offscourings of Europe."

These are the people who have built this nation, out of whom the nation is made. They were not the well-to-do, nor the aristocrats of Europe, they were the poor. But they were not lame nor halt, they were virile and strong. Again we see the wisdom of Nature in the action of man; the

country did not want the class who did not emigrate; there was little use for the wealthy or the luxurious. What was needed was men to work; men with hard hands and active limbs; men dissatisfied with their European environment, and who aspired to better their material conditions and were therefore men of aspirations and ideals. Voluntary emigration is one of the strongest reliances of both the nation that sends and that which receives. It shows that the moving people are filled with desire for progress. It is the deed of a strong man to emigrate. It requires resolution, courage. It is the pulling of a man by the roots out of his home emplantment, and the flinging of him far abroad into a strange region, amidst conditions, peoples and languages which he does not understand; without means, with all retreat back to his home and the resources of his friends cut off, with no asset but his sinews, no staff but his hope—it is not the deed of a craven or a weakling, this migrating abroad; and when a nation has arisen in the scale of civilization sufficiently far to possess large numbers of people eager to emigrate, it means that such nation contains within it enormous potentialities. Peoples in darkness do not emigrate. Their minds are not stimulated with those processes which stir them to proceed abroad. Before such a wish can arise the man must be filled with desire for a higher social plane than that on which he dwells; and this awakened desire is the van of progress of the soul—the real purpose and the real meaning of God's placing the human upon earth; for progress is the order of the universe. Not unattended by obstacles was man placed here upon the mundane. He is environed by obstacles, beset with difficulties. They are the riffles in the sluice box of life, which interpose the current and draw forth from the mass the gold; but man is given strength to breast and overcome them, the effort and success at which increases his strength and moves him to a higher status. Let us bear this in mind when we discuss exclusion, realizing that it is an obstruction and an evil into which it was in order that society should fall; out of which we struggle our way through seizing the rope of Right, from which once extricated, the pitfall being known, it may never engulf us again.

The reason why exclusion of immigration exists and has existed is the common belief that the price of wages is determined by demand and supply of laborers. I have shown the fallacy of this theory in my paper "Our National Tendency and Its Goal," to which the reader is referred, and I will not discuss it in extenso here, as I have there. Assuming the doctrine is correct, the coming of a workman into the country from any source, from immigration, or through the door of birth, is a misfortune to those who are at work, or who are seeking employment; hence "in order to protect our working people," immigration exclusion is a necessity; and existing against Asiatics, it should properly be extended against Europeans and the people of the entire world; this is the argument and purpose behind the literacy test bills in Congress to which I have referred. The "labor market" theory has the acceptance of what is regarded as the "highest authority." I may

remark that it is generally taught in the colleges and acted upon the world over, and forms the ground structure on which labor unionism is based. It is stated by Prof. Henry W. Farnam of the Chair of Political Economy of Yale University in the "American Year Book 1910," where it is asserted as economic law:

"In . . . industrial freedom wages are determined by the 'higling' of the market or by demand and supply. If many laborers are seeking employment, the demand being equal, wages tend to fall; if few, wages tend to rise."

Hence, as I have said above, it becomes to the interest of the laborer already in the country that scarcity of laborers should be maintained—to keep others out, and to suppress apprentices and births among the working class. It also becomes to their interest to suppress production of commodities by whatever means are possible, so there might not arise over-supply through which workmen would be laid off; scarcity, therefore, must always exist and be maintained, and whatever practicable means may secure this end must be employed; waste, strikes, the preventing of asylums, jails and penitentiaries where people are supported partially at public cost, and where their operations may hence be controlled by political action, from turning products on the common market; also by keeping imports from entering the country; hence the assumed desirability of high protective tariffs; for products from all such sources, it is believed, tend to supply the market and reduce the demand for the working man's services, thus increasing the number seeking employment. It also goes along with the popular opinion that high prices and high wages go together, for it is generally considered that if the price of a thing is low, its cost of production being low, a large share of this cost being wages, wages also must necessarily be low; so that the popular mind associates high prices with high wages, and this, it is assumed, means good times; while low prices must necessarily mean low wages and these are the conditions in hard times—all of which assumptions and reasoning are completely erroneous. Prof. Farnam favors us with a further exposition of some of the doctrines of wages. He says:

"Economists have not, however, confined themselves to studying the mechanism by which wages are determined. They have demanded a theory in order to explain the causes which lie back of this mechanism, and to show us why, at certain times and in certain places, wages tend to be high, at other times to be low. For many years the wage-fund theory was commonly accepted by the classical economists. According to this view, the capital set aside for wages constitutes a fund which limits the demand for labor. General wages can, therefore, not rise, unless either through an increase in the fund or a diminution of the number of laborers. According to Ricardo higher wages tend to increase the population, and thus the tendency of wages is to relapse after every advance to the standard of living held by the laborers. This somewhat pessimistic view was exaggerated by Lassalle; according to his 'iron-wage law,' wages always tend to fall to the amount needed for bare subsistence. If this is the case, it is clear that any permanent betterment of the laboring classes is impossible under the wage system, and this has been for many years the popular argument in favor of socialism.

"In sharp contrast to both of these theories, stands the so-called residual theory of Gen. Francis A. Walker. According to him, wages are really paid not out of capital but out of the product of labor. Any increase in this product tends in the long run to benefit the laboring classes, who receive all that is left after interest, rent and profits have been taken out."

The wage fund theory, or the idea that wages are drawn directly from capital and not from the product of labor, is erroneous. It assumes the source of wages to be an hypothetical fund set aside in the community for the payment of wages, comprising all the money which would ultimately be used for that purpose, such as might obtain in a family having an income of \$10,000 per year, of which \$1,000 was set aside for the wages of servants. If this fund be lessened, the number of laborers being the same, wages must be lowered; as where the family falls into straits and is obliged to trench on the \$1,000; there is a lessened sum left with which to pay the servants, and their wages must be reduced. Under this theory it is important that the number of laborers in a country be not increased, for in such case there would be more to draw upon the fund and wages would fall. It was John Stuart Mill's contention that population must be rigidly restrained in order that the average rate of wages may be kept up. This idea made Mill an immigration exclusionist and he strenuously opposed the entry of Irish into England. Of course the doctrine was wrong and the Ricardo and Lassalle theories are just as impossible. Prof. Farnam seems to make a qualified condemnation of these false theories.* They are helpful to us here, however, as showing that economic thought has come through just as charlatanic a career as has thought in other fields; in religion, in law, in medicine; for the false gods before whose idols the Aztec prophet lifted the beating heart of the human sacrifice, or the jurisprudence that determined legal contests in trial by gauge of battel, or the treatment of disease by drawing off the patient's blood, all of these fictions which men but lately treated as truths and acted upon, were but counterparts of the wage theories which Prof. Farnam quotes, and also of the one in which he himself believes, which is as false as any. The true doctrine is that which Prof. Farnam states accredited to Gen. Francis A. Walker. That this doctrine is correct is very apparent; the industrial captain finds the yield of his entire capital and energy with that of his laborers represented by a given product. This he sells, and from its proceeds pays his laborers a part of that value which they have bestowed upon it. He does not pay them all of this value, for he must make a profit even upon their employment or he will not do business; but he passes them the share they should properly receive; surely there is nothing complex about this! Yet we see, from what Prof. Farnam says of Gen. Walker's view, that it runs into the whole scheme of wages, for it is true that "any increase in this product tends in the long run to

*No false doctrine was ever more strongly entrenched in the belief of economists of thirty years ago than this same wage fund theory. Writing in 1879 Henry George said of it: "I am aware that the theorem that wages are drawn from capital is one of the most fundamental and apparently best settled of current political economy, and that it has been accepted as axiomatic by all the great thinkers who have devoted their powers to the elucidation of the science." Mr. George then proceeds to demolish the theory, and his reasoning has since been accepted by many, perhaps most, thinkers upon economics. (*Progress and Poverty*, p. 20.)

benefit the laboring classes, who receive all that is left after interest, rent and profits have been taken cut." The way the laborer receives "all that is left" is by the drawing off of laborers into other occupations through the door of opportunity, as I shall explain later, leaving the industry bidding the highest possible wage for his services; this "highest possible wage" being limited by the sale price of the commodity, rent determined by the price of access of equally useful land, and profits being such sum as the employer is willing to treat as justifying his remaining in business. It is therefore a fact that labor immigration, by increasing the product, cannot hurt, but necessarily must help, the laborers already within the country. Mr. George says:

"If each laborer in performing the labor really created the fund from which his wages are drawn, then wages cannot be diminished by the increase of laborers; but, on the contrary, as the efficiency of labor manifestly increases with the number of laborers, the more laborers, other things being equal, the higher wages should be." ("Progress and Poverty," p. 75.)

The increase of the product occurring through increase in the number of laborers, increases the distributive share of the laborers, for they must consume nearly all of the product. The immigrant workmen, in common with all laborers, produce far more than they consume; the surplus, and it is large, passes into the common volume of commodities. Wherefore prices fall. The effect of this is to increase real wages, or the quantity of things for which the coin is exchanged; for if there be abundance of commodities in existence, prices will be low, and the purchasing power of money will be increased. This is now recognized by the ablest economic writers. See *Encyclopedia Britannica* 11th Ed. Bk. XVIII p. 232, where it is stated:

"But as several American economists have pointed out, in new countries especially, every increase in the number of laborers may be accompanied by a more than proportionate increase in the produce, and thus in the wages of labor."

There is no magic about "new countries" that this phenomenon should especially occur therein; it happens every place where labor immigration moves. What gives the writers the idea of "new countries" in this behalf is, that it is to new countries that labor immigration most frequently proceeds. But it will happen in old countries just as readily, when they arise through industrial development to call on the lesser enlightened nations for their migrants, as is now the case in Europe with Germany, and has to some extent been the case with England, though impaired through ascendancy of labor unionism and its attendant slough of inefficient and idle laborers. It is economic law that labor immigration cannot reduce wages, but it increases wages. Experience with the Chinese on this coast showed that it could not even reduce nominal, or coin, wages. An examination of the wages paid in San Francisco between 1870-82, in those industries in which the Chinese were most generally employed, namely woollen mills, cigar making, slipper manufacturing and sewing industries, showed that the wages of all operatives were higher than those paid in the east in similar

departments of the several industries. The assertions of the exclusionists that Oriental immigration reduces wages was always false; it cannot occur. The contrary is the fact, it raises wages. That real wages in California today are lower than they were during the days of free Chinese immigration, all will recognize upon a little reflection. The prevailing wages of common labor, for instance, at present is from \$2 to \$2.50 per day. Henry George, writing in 1879, while Oriental immigration was free, for the first exclusion act was passed in 1882, says (Ib. p. 17) "now common wages are \$2 or \$2.50 a day." It is true that in the trades, under the influence of the unions, wages are higher today than they were in 1879, in some trades perhaps twice as high. But prices of commodities and rent are today from 100% to 150% higher than they were at that time, so that even the labor union laborers receive no more today than they received while Oriental immigration was free, whereas upon the common labor has fallen the heavy hand of the condition of high prices for which the unions are chiefly responsible. This condition affects us all, for times are very much harder now than then during the days of free Oriental immigration; those were the days of plenty and general prosperity in California.*

The truth as shown by Gen. Walker, Mr. George and the encyclopedists, however, is rejected by our collegiate political economists generally. It is very remarkable that so large a number of these gentlemen who teach our youth, seem unable either to reason themselves into the truth, or to recognize it when it is shown to them. This is most unfortunate; did they disseminate truth instead of fallacy the mind of the country would soon be set right on these great economic problems, and immigration exclusion would be the first error cured. The public regards them as sitting on the dais of economic thought and the publishing houses and press, both daily and periodical, are always open to print their utterances. To others they are closed; and when a man of the latter order comes forward he must, to get a hearing, appeal directly to the people by speech and pamphlet. The attitude of the labor unions is precisely that of the college professors. They adhere to and practice the same doctrines, which have become orthodox, and they are not open to any reasoning upon the correctness of their economic attitude. Between this upper and nether millstone of erroneous economics the public suffers as in a vise, and it is those men who have no relation either to schools or interests, but who are free to follow truth wherever she may lead, who hew the way. These, like Adam Smith the private tutor and Henry George the printer, always struggle under difficulties, in the presence of doubt, indifference and obstruction, their work being appreciated in about the third generation after their deaths.

*See "Chinese Immigration," p. 375, by Mary Roberts Coolidge. Also article of Ho Yow, Chinese Consul General at San Francisco, *North American Review*, Sept. 1901, in which he states that "the gala days of San Francisco's life and happiness were during the years that preceded 1882." Also that when he came to the Consulate-general several years prior to the date of his article, the most conspicuous feature of the city was the number of "to let" signs in the windows of vacant stores and residences about the city. That the exclusion law acted on the business of San Francisco "like a cone over a lighted candle" and that business activities of the city did not revive from the blow given it by the exclusion statutes, until Dewey's victory.

Prof. Farnam himself rejects this truth as presented by General Walker. He says, continuing his statement:

"Few economists at the present day accept any one of these theories as completely explaining wages. Most agree in thinking that, while under a condition of freedom of contract, wages are determined by the interaction of supply and demand, the causes which influence and limit these are very complicated. They also realize that even when the general causes determining the demand for and supply of labor are constant, they do not operate with absolute precision, but that there is room for an appreciable margin between the minimum which the laborer is willing to take and the maximum which the employer is willing to pay. Within this margin, wages may be moved up or down in accordance with the superior bargaining power of the parties concerned. In other words, it is quite conceivable that general economic conditions might justify higher wages than are paid, and yet that through ignorance of these conditions, or inability to assert their demands, the wage workers may fail to get what circumstances warrant. On the other hand it is also possible that wages may temporarily remain on a higher level than business conditions justify."

The statement is in effect that the labor union is necessary in industry. That "collective bargaining" is the essential principle of the relations between employer and employee; that neither the individual employer or the workman are any longer free. Outside the zone of the "higglers" with their fluctuating margin between them, both are crushed as an eggshell, as though the atmosphere had been displaced by a vacuum. That the weapons of the union—the strike and the boycott—and their counterpart the lock-out, are necessary adjuncts to industry, whose natural condition is one of warfare; that this can never be otherwise, because the condition rests upon the truths of economic law. In accentuation of this Prof. Farnam proceeds:

"It is often difficult for the individual to influence these conditions, because it is generally easy to fill a single place. The demands of the workers are more effective if many act in common. Hence the strike, or simultaneous cessation of work, has become a common feature of labor movements during the past century; they have been numerous and unusually significant in 1910. Trade unions have also arisen in order to give a great effectiveness to united action by making organization permanent, and putting it under competent leaders."

In reply to what Prof. Farnam says in approbation of the unions and their principle, I refer the reader to my paper already noticed.* The Professor thinks he is not in favor of socialism, yet he is in truth a socialist, for labor unionism is socialism, and cannot be otherwise. It is needless to say that Prof. Farnam is altogether wrong. The error lies at the very root of the doctrine which he and so many of his colleagues believe, and whose belief is impressed upon the country; *wages are not determined by demand and supply of laborers*. Wages are determined by opportunity to labor; "opportunity to labor" is very different from "demand and supply." The latter is an *effect* of "opportunity to labor," and does not rank with it. "Demand and supply of laborers" means simply the "higgle" between the employer and the applicant; "opportunity to labor" may abound in as

*"Our National Tendency and Its Goal."

many regions as there are lines of direction. If opportunity to labor be abundant there will be no "higgle" at the door of the employer over wages; there will be no "room for an appreciable margin between the minimum which the laborer is willing to take and the maximum which the employer is willing to pay" as Prof. Farnam states, and which, accordingly, the laborer must have the backing of a union for him to get. No such "margin" exists. If the "higgle," or rather the force, armed or other, of the union succeeds in driving up wages, the price of commodity will be raised and raised proportionately higher, for more wages means more money to conduct business, more interest to be paid, and increased cost in divers directions. Industry adjusts itself to given wages, and competition in price of the commodity on the market determines a reasonable profit to the employer, which if he does not receive, he will not continue business. The necessary concomitant to the labor union is combination among the producers and monopoly of the product. Only by such solidarity can either the union be resisted, or higher than economic wages be paid.* Under free conditions the laborer will be offered the highest wages which, with other elements of cost and profit deducted, the product on the market will allow; and when he receives this, wages will not go higher. When the gold deposits of the Yukon were discovered, sailors left vessels moored at the wharves in Vancouver and trains in Seattle were left standing without crews in the general rush for the diggings. There were opportunities with higher rewards for labor than those paid by the industries forsaken. The railroads and vessels had to offer the very highest possible wages to get men, there was no "higgle" whatever, it was simply an offer.

Here Prof. Farnam and his confreres would say there was labor scarcity in Seattle, and because of that scarcity higher wages were offered, hence the condition was one of demand and supply; but it can be seen that the scarcity was only a *result* of the opening of an opportunity to labor.

*The union compelling the producer to pay a higher rate of wages than the market of the commodity will allow, forces an increase of price of the latter; and as the higher prices go the less is the consumption, the more acute becomes the struggle to make sales, which results in individual producers being forced to forego their profits upon occasion, and "cutting under" the current market in price; there hence arises among the producers a tendency to combination in order that this demoralization of business may be prevented. This combination has for its purpose the fixing of prices of the commodity within the zone of its operations; and this combination quickly becomes a monopoly or a trust, and employs part of its energies in fighting off the entry of newcomers into the field, or driving out of business those within the field who refuse to enter, or who are not admitted to, the combine. Having control of prices, it is a matter somewhat of indifference to the combine as to what higher figure the union moves wages, for the combine can meet the raise by automatically shoving up the price of the commodity. Without this combination, many would be forced out of business through the ruinous price cutting. The result of the combination is lessened consumption of the commodity, but this means simply the laying off of laborers by the producer. Here we see the strong centralizing force of the union, its creation of an aristocracy of labor, and the slough of idle laborers thrown off by the constricting process who in turn become I. W. W.'s, tramps, socialists, anarchists and other disturbers of society. Did the union not affect wages, nominal wages would be lower, products would be cheaper, demand therefor would increase and with it general business, while real wages would not be disturbed. The pressing need of combination to fix prices would in the presence of active business not appear. A producer having "all he can attend to," in a normal state of business, is not disposed to cut prices, but will stand for a fair return. Price cutting below a line of reasonable profit is a condition of market stress arising through slackened demand, and the efforts of the producer to tide things over and keep in business in hopes for better times. Slackened demand follows higher-than-economic nominal or coin wages, increasing cost. The producer offsets this condition by combining and fixing prices, the most rational way in which the state of things can be met. This dual condition is of course highly harmful to the public.

Scarcity was a secondary, not the primary incident; it was an effect only. The real influence, the cause which produced the scarcity, was the opportunity presented by free access to productive land. The railroads were not bargaining, they were bidding against a labor opportunity.

The difference between the "demand and supply" idea and "opportunity" is radical. They are at opposite ends of the pole. If the difference were recognized it would be seen that the interest of the laborer lies not in combining with his fellows, so that he can strengthen his side at the "higgle" with the armed force of a union, the latter to create scarcity of labor keeping others than its members out of industry, thereby holding down products while increasing prices thereof, hence decreasing real wages, but it would lie in opening and extending opportunity to labor. In so doing it would vigorously oppose exclusion of laborers, for every laborer who enters the country is a factor for plenty, in that he produces, as I have said, far more than he consumes, and, as stated, the part of his production which he does not consume goes to increase the common supply of commodities, hence increasing real wages through allowing a larger distributive share to every worker. But the labor immigrant does more; through increasing supply he increases labor opportunity; for most materials produced must be further manipulated from their first form by added labor before they are ready for the consumer. If I produce bricks, some one must build houses with the bricks; and if houses be so built others must make furniture and carpets to put into them; furniture requires the cutting of wood, carpets the growing of sheep, and so on *ad infinitum*; one commodity created is simply a factor calling upon labor to produce other commodities to unite with it. The Japanese, growing strawberries at Florin, were calling upon the labor of white box makers, white canners, white makers of tin and all who operate in the tin industry; the printers of labels and all who work in the label phase of the paper industry; the whites who operate the railroads; those who do draying; the millers who make the flour from the grain that the farmer grows; the bakers who bake the canned berries into pies; the people in the sugar industry; and finally upon the storekeepers who distribute the pies to the consumers who are now able to eat strawberry pies which, but for the labors of the Florin Japanese, they would not have gotten at all. So we see that it is abundance that gives opportunity to labor, which decreases prices of commodities by increasing supply and thereby increases real wages. With this matter of opportunity to labor the union refuses to have absolutely anything to do. The reason is simply that if the union worked on this side of the wage problem, there would soon be no use for the union, and the "competent leaders," of whom Prof. Farnam so approvingly speaks, would find themselves out of jobs in "making organization permanent."

We have seen in the instances of the gold diggings of the Yukon, what an intimate bearing free access to productive land has upon wages; and the agitation has grown over the country for laws to force idle lands into use

by increasing the taxes upon their value, a method which now obtains in greater or less degree in most of the colonies of Great Britain, to some extent in England itself through the recent allotment acts, in the German empire through the taxation of increase in land values, introduced in 1909-10,* and is at present the salient demand in the program of Chancellor Lloyd-George for land reform in England. In a state of low industrial activity in a country, such as now obtains on this Coast, land is held out of use because its value is small and the taxes upon it are correspondingly low, and not above the abilities of the speculators who hold the land, hoping for higher prices, to pay. But large labor immigration, through producing great industrial activity, increases the value of land, and correspondingly increases the taxes upon it. Land is thereby forced into use, for the land owner stands between a push and a pull, moving him to dispose of his lands to users; he has behind him the high taxes which he cannot afford to pay on idle lands, and before him the lure of high priced offers; the two conditions combine to compel him to sell or lease, in whichever case land is put to use. This is the influence under which the land areas of California have been divided up as they stand today, and the great ranches which at the treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo embraced nearly all the state, have been parceled and distributed. The "gringo" came, and with his industrial activities, increased the value of land; this increased taxes on the lands to a greater extent than their owners were able to pay, and they were forced to sell, and in most cases were glad to sell, at the high prices which were offered. Experience shows that under these influences lands will be sold rather than leased. Lands used under lease have a bearing on wages, in that nominal wages are measured by what one may make off of land to which he has access; what the tenant receives for his labor on the land will be determined by the share of his product which he pays as rent; a man will not accept a job at my ranch at \$35 per month, if across the way he can get a lease on a fifty-acre tract at \$5 per acre, on which he can grow a crop of corn which he can sell at the rate of \$50 per acre. In order that he shall accept my offer, the rent of the land would have to be fixed at a price which would make it "a toss up" whether he shall go on the land or work for me.

The entire exclusion policy shows itself to us, therefore, as a huge mistake; doing the highest harm to the very people whom it is intended to benefit, and making us all suffer in corresponding degree. I have said nothing herein concerning the race prejudice which in part sustains exclusion on our statutes. Such antipathies do afflict some, it is true, but hatreds would soon disappear when people come to understand that the Orientals are beneficial, profitable and necessary to be amongst us, and that in no sense are they a harm. There is no substance in the talk about non-assimi-

*The increase in land values in the German empire in 1912 amounted to about \$60,000,000, the tax thereon being about \$9,000,000. This innovation is characterized as "a limited application of the single tax." See "Monarchical Socialism in Germany," by Elmer Roberts. Chap. VIII.

lation. No peoples in the world are objectionable to us on this ground. If the objection be analyzed it will be found to rest altogether on race hatred, a fact that is not known to the American people, which, as soon as they discover, and realizing that there is no truth in the assertion that the coming of the Oriental laborer does a harm to workmen here, would cause them to move repeal of the exclusion laws. These facts being understood, with a federal law in existence placing aliens under the protection of the United States, and making it a crime punishable by the same authority to abuse by words people on account of race, would soon procure quiet and tolerance of Orientals on this coast, and they have never been disturbed elsewhere. In a little while the business revival, which would be manifest upon their renewed coming to the country, would overwhelmingly strengthen sentiment in their favor. We should again have large and general prosperity, this time with enduring peace.

Thirty years of exclusion legislation has shown us on this coast its ruinous nature. The stagnation in business, the slow growth of the populations of the cities—building from the country behind the towns instead of from the empires in front, the practical absence of shipping and manufacturing, the insignificance of San Francisco as a port, when it should be one of the great ports of the world; the high cost at which all things are produced, which narrows the zone of their transportation and exchange, making ocean-going commerce originating in the state confined to few articles of first production; the ascendancy of labor union and socialistic dogma and legislation; the bewilderment of the people over the course upon which things are drifting, with the ominous day of reckoning, which from our headlands and with eyes across our ocean, all thinking men, with clear lenses, may now plainly see—this condition calls loudly for correction, for knowledge to be imparted to the people that they may be made to realize the errors of their policy and moved to repeal exclusion, abandon isolation and again place this quarter of the continent in the way of the vast development which is her right, which can only be done hand in hand with the Oriental peoples, and through those agencies which contribute to a mutual progress.

The question before the people of either and both coasts is: shall the exposition and presentation to all and sundry of ourselves be undertaken? We have reached a stage in our affairs where, in order to go forward, we must first comprehend the principles which govern the relations of the several peoples, and the economic laws in respect thereto. The same condition is presented here as obtains in the Huai River district; there people are perishing because Knowledge has been withheld from them; here, similarly through lack of Knowledge, we are suffering the strains of international hatreds and the stress of economic adversity, as a prelude to the destruction which shall be our mete in the fullness of time. The query is: have we the initiative or the energy to study the question and the common sense to understand the condition, or is indisposition to continue and dereliction to ensue on part of those who have both the means and knowledge to spread

the gospel that will bring the change? If I should take this case to a band of Indians residing somewhere on a reservation, and state it to them, I should get stolid indifference for my labors. The Indians are not quickened in thought to grasp the meaning of the conditions pointed out. Did the matter rest with them they must, animal like, suffer the present, await the denouement and take the consequences. But are we thus to stand as sheep to the slaughter! There are times and conditions when indifference to public concerns is not alone a crime but it is suicidal. He who is in trust and active charge of the concerns of others on this coast, who carries the confidence of his wards and whose duty it is to defend their affairs, who shall nonchalantly toss behind his shoulder the call which these conditions make upon his thought—what crime is his? And what scores among us there are of such! Every business man on this coast has a charge therewith connected in this case. Granted he has not been heretofore advised, he knows *now*. He has hitherto swung along without reasoning at all on the matters moving before him, suffering the ignorant, the passionate, the selfish, the unthinking to control in views and political action these great affairs; accepting assertions without examination; wrapped in meditation upon his private interests, apathetic, unconcerned. Such is the “primrose path of dalliance” over which one goes rollicking along in a sociological region, which terminates at the sky-vaulting cliff, and ends with unrecognizable shapes and *debris*, in a common abyss.



The Japanese Question A Sympodium

Edited by K. K. KAWAKAMI

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

The articles in the following pages were originally published in the New Year's edition of the Japanese American Daily News. They have been so highly commended that we think it worth while to preserve them in pamphlet form. We take this opportunity to acknowledge the generosity of our friends who favored us with articles. We are also indebted to Mr. Lindsey Russell and Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, editor and publishers, respectively, of the book "America to Japan" for the permission to reprint a few articles from that book.—The Japanese American News.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

By K. K. Kawakami.

Author of "American-Japanese Relations," "Asia at the Door," etc.

It is with great pleasure that we present in this issue of the Japanese American Daily News a symposium of views on American-Japanese relations, and more especially on the question, if question it may be called, of the Japanese in America. We take occasion to thank our American friends who have so promptly and generously responded to our request and favored us with statements which we believe are as frank as they are sincere.

In writing the following introductory remarks it is not my intention to criticise or dispute the views expressed by our contributors. We presume, however, that our American friends and critics are just as desirous to know our views on the question as we are anxious to hear their opinion. We believe in free and unreserved exchange of views as a means of establishing mutual understanding. No question can be settled right without presenting both sides of the case before the tribunal of public opinion. What I am going to say in the following few paragraphs, therefore, is simply to let our American friends know how we feel about the question, not to enter into any controversy with them.

Immigration and Naturalization.

And now we come to our main contention. We shall say at once that in so far as we are able to see, the Japanese Government does not intend to force emigration upon the United States. In 1907 the Mikado's Government, in deference to the wish of the American Government, signed the so-called gentlemen's agreement restricting most strictly Japanese immigration to these shores. I have no hesitation in saying that Japan intends indefinitely to continue the gentlemen's agreement.

On this point I think that Mr. Jefferson Jones in his article, presented elsewhere in this issue, sets forth a view not only interesting but thought-provoking. What Japan is after, he says, is not emigration but recognition—recognition as a member of the comity of civilized powers. Canada and Australia restrict Japanese immigration more strictly than does the United States. And yet the Japanese have not protested against them half as strongly as they have protested against

this country. Why? Because, in Mr. Jones' judgment, Great Britain has fully recognized Japan's progress and achievements as a civilized power by dealing with her on a plane of equality, by entering into alliance with her, and thus saved Japan's face.

Moreover Canada extends citizenship to the Japanese, and has always permitted both the naturalized and alien Japanese to own land. In most provinces the Japanese even enjoy the franchise.

Mr. Jones' contention furnishes food for reflection. Suppose that the United States asked Japan to continue the gentlemen's agreement indefinitely on the one hand, and on the other hand saved Japan's face by extending citizenship to the small number of the Japanese already domiciled in this country. Mr. Jones fears that such a course may compel the United States to extend the same privilege to all Asiatics. In reply to this we say that the United States need not extend to countries not yet admitted into the family of civilized powers the privileges which she has conferred upon the subjects or citizens of a country which has been recognized in the concourse of the nations as a first-class power. Do not jump into the conclusion that the Japanese are cocky and bumptious. We are keenly alive to our shortcomings and defects which we have not permitted the halo of our achievements to obscure. And yet we hope that our American critics will give us credit for what we have accomplished in the brief period of fifty years, and recognize that Japan is the only nation in Asia imbued with modern civilization.

Mr. Carlos K. McClatchy, of the Sacramento Bee, in his article printed in this number, says that the Japanese should not ask for citizenship. We know as well as Mr. McClatchy that naturalization is a privilege which should be granted only by the will of the American Government, not upon the demand of any alien government or people. That is why we hope that sooner or later—better sooner than later—the American Government and people will come to look upon the question in the light of broader international relations. If there be in international dealings such a thing as courtesy, we hope that the United States will not forget to adhere to its common dictates.

The granting of naturalization to Orientals is so radical a departure from the fixed idea of America that most people are highly skeptical of it. But if a future historian, ages after our departure from this world, were to chronicle the

events that are happening today, he would no doubt wonder why there was so much ado about the naturalization of the Japanese in America. The course of history is tortuous. It abounds in many backward bends and many reflux eddies. Man is essentially conservative. He does not easily abandon the old and adopt the new. When the British populace began to clamor for popular rights, those so-called upper classes who held the kingdom in the hollows of their hands lifted hands in holy horror and condemned the masses as though they had committed the foulest crime in demanding liberty and human rights. So it is with all innovations.

Hawaii and California.

It is important to note the difference between the situation in Hawaii and the situation in California or on the Pacific Coast. Some critics point to Hawaii as an example of Orientalization of the American soil, and warns that California should not become a second Hawaii. The fact is that California will never become a second Hawaii, even if she wanted to become such, because the conditions prevailing here are radically different from those in Hawaii. To be convinced of this it is only necessary to know something of the history of the sugar industry in the islands. To begin with, Hawaii was not a white man's land; it was inhabited by dark-skinned semi-civilized natives. And when the white men secured the privilege to exploit its natural resources they brought by the shipload all sorts of Oriental labour for the sugar plantations. The country had neither the white population nor "white civilization" when the planters began to import Oriental laborers.

The conditions on the Pacific Coast are totally different. Here American civilization and the Caucasian population have been so firmly established that Japanese immigration, so strictly checked by the gentlemen's agreement, cannot possibly become a danger.

Nor can argument advanced against Chinese immigration prior to the enactment of the Chinese exclusion laws be applied to the Japanese immigration of today. The Chinese immigration from 1854 to 1882 totalled 139,455, the overwhelming majority of which came to and remained in California. In view of the fact that in the seventies of the past century when agitation for Chinese exclusion was begun, the state of California had a population of only 560,000, including negroes, Indians, and Chinese, the apprehension that the Chinese might hinder the wholesome

growth of the white community in the state was not without ground. But the conditions on the Pacific Coast have since radically changed, while circumstances attendant upon Japanese immigration are widely different from those accompanying Chinese immigration. In 1900 the white population of California increased to 1,402,727, and in 1910 to 2,259,672. It is difficult to ascertain the number of the Japanese in the state. The census of 1910 places it at 41,356. While this seems to be a conservative estimate, it is perhaps no more conservative than the number given for the white population. Perhaps the common estimate which places the number of Japanese at 60,000 is not far from the mark, although much of it consists of floating elements contemplating to return to Japan or, to a lesser extent, to move to other states. This number will probably remain stationary if it does not materially decrease, because of the fact that the gap left by departing Japanese will be filled by children born of Japanese parents in the state.

With the gentlemen's agreement strictly enforced, with Americans flowing into California from eastern states in ever increasing streams, with the opening of the Panama Canal stimulating European immigration, there is no reason why California should apprehend the "Orientalization" of the state.

Let me be frank and say that America ought to be thankful that she finds in Japan an efficient government to deal with in the adjustment of the immigration question. The Tokio Government has been handling the matter so effectively and skillfully and honestly that no Japanese has ever been smuggled into these shores. With the recent sensational story of the smuggling of Chinese before us, have not the people of California reason to be glad that the Federal Government, in dealing with Japan, is not dealing with such an inefficient Government as that of China?

Not only is the Japanese Government restricting immigration to the United States but it is most carefully restricting emigration to Mexico and Canada. In spite of all the insinuations which the sensational journals of this country are publishing with regard to the alleged Japanese activities in Mexico there are only 3,400 or 4,000 Japanese in all Mexico, and the number is fast decreasing because of the chaotic political condition in that country. The story of Japanese designs upon Magdalena Bay and Turtle Bay is a

crime deliberately committed by certain newspapers in this country for the purpose of stirring up ill-feeling between Japan and the United States.

The Picture Bride.

And now let me touch upon the question of the "picture bride." The picture bride cannot be understood without understanding the marriage institution of Japan. When I heard Dr. William Elliot Griffis, perhaps the greatest American authority on Japan, say that of all the nations of the world the Japanese alone has for centuries practiced the principle of eugenics. I thought he was joking. But he propounded the theory so convincingly that I had to change my mind somewhat. He emphasized the immense amount of pains and care which the Japanese parents take in looking into the genealogy, character, education, health and what not of the young man or young girl who is to be the life companion of their daughter or son. Japan is the country where Cupid is not permitted to give full play to his whims and wiles. To the Japanese parents marriage is the most serious business. Apart from the question whether marriage, unaccompanied by courtship shrouded in the glamour of love and poetry and romance, is really worth contracting, we must concede that the marriage institution in Japan is strongly tinged with the rationalism of modern civilization. Personally, I am not sure that I prefer such rational marriage to the romantic marriage prevalent in the West, for I am blessed with frailties common to humanity, but that need not change my general view. The point is that the picture bride is simply the product of the time-honored eugenic, rational marriage-institution of Japan. I don't mean to recommend this sort of marriage to my American friends, but to the Japanese the institution seems satisfactory and salutary.

The Problem Economic and Racial.

I am glad to hear Mr. Mullen and Mr. Macarthur tell us that the Japanese question is primarily and essentially an economic problem. If it be so it would be the part of wisdom on the part of organized labor to open its doors to Japanese workers and admit them into its membership, or permit the Japanese labor unions to affiliate with the central labor organizations of America. This will establish the same wage scale both for the Japanese and for American workers, and thus eliminate competition.

On the other hand there are men who regard it as a

race problem, and who discuss the question from the point of view of intermarriage. Let me say at once that California need not have the slightest apprehension on the matter of intermarriage between Japanese and Caucasians. In the first place cases of such intermarriage will always be very few. The Japanese are proud of their blood no less than the Americans are proud of their blood. The mixture of blood in the south is the outcome of brute passions of the white taskmasters vented upon helpless slave women, who were nothing but their chattels and who had not the slightest sense of human dignity. Such a condition does not apply to California.

No, Japanese and American blood will not mix to any appreciable extent. The few cases of intermarriage which may occur here and there need excite no apprehension, for the average offspring of Japanese-American union is as bright, intelligent, handsome, and lovable as the average American or Caucasian child. If such offsprings were mentally deficient or homely in appearance, that would of course make a world of difference. But inasmuch as they are pretty and bright as any child the stork has ever brought to light, there is no reason why intermarriage should be objected to. I am fully aware that because of the age-long prejudice against intermarriage the children of Japanese-American parentage will more or less have to suffer social disadvantages. But they will suffer no greater disadvantage than have been suffered by all other pioneers in a new field. And their suffering will be richly rewarded, for when they have proved their worth and virtue they shall have conquered a world-wide prejudice. If they are comely in appearance, if they are respectable in demeanor, if they are well educated, the rest will take care of itself; neither Dame California nor Madame Columbia need worry about their future. This is not a dogmatic assertion but a conclusion based upon substantial facts and evidence.

The degree of disadvantage which the Japanese-American children may experience can best be gauged by observing if American children, i. e., children in whose veins runs nothing but the Caucasian blood, instinctively play with them and easily become their whole-hearted friends. If the Japanese-American children find difficulty in making friends of American children, their disadvantage in life will be great. My observations convince me that the children of respectable Japanese men and American women are readily accepted and

welcomed by other children, either at school or in the neighborhood in which they live. What is still more important, experience has shown that they have no difficulty in marrying Caucasians.

The admixture of Japanese and American blood will take place in eastern States rather than in California. California's game is the game of the ostrich who buries his head in the sand and thinks he is safe from the gun of the hunter.

Spencer on Race Fusion.

Those who object to intermarriage of Japanese and Caucasian refer to Herbert Spencer's biological and sociological theories. Pity the man who has not kept abreast with the rapid progress of science and think that Spencer's is the last word on the question! In many respects Spencer is no longer the authority. He has had his day, but his light has been dimmed by the greater stars that have risen.

For the sake of the Spencer-worshipper, however, let me quote the following from his *Principles of Sociology*:

"From their (nearly allied peoples') fusion results a community which, determined in its leading traits by the character common to the two, and prevented by their differences of character from being determined in its minor traits—is left capable of taking on new arrangements wrought by new influences; medium plasticity allows those changes of structure constituting advance in heterogeneity. One example is furnished us by the Hebrews; who, notwithstanding their boasted purity of blood, resulted from a mixing of many Semitic varieties in the country east of the Nile, and who, both in their wanderings and after the conquest of Palestine, went on amalgamating kindred tribes. Another is supplied by Athensans, whose progress had for antecedent the mingling of numerous immigrants from other Greek states with the Greeks of the locality. The fusion by conquest of the Romans with other Aryan tribes, Sabini, Sabelli and Samnites, preceded the first ascending stage of the Roman civilization. And our own country, peopled by different divisions of the Aryan race, and mainly by varieties of Scandinavians, illustrates this effect produced by the mixture of units sufficiently alike to co-operate in the same social system, but sufficiently unlike to prevent that social system from becoming forthwith definite in structure."

I think that this theory can very well be applied to the admixture of Japanese and Caucasian blood. Mentally and physically the Japanese and Caucasians are not so radically

different as to cause racial degeneration in the event of their mingling. When Spencer penned the above theory he did not know the Japanese. The few Japanese whom he had a glimpse of wore a topknot and were garbed in exotic costumes of feudal Japan, which made them appear all too different from the Caucasian race to be comprehended by the Westerner. Had Spencer lived till this day and enjoyed the advantages resulting from modern scientific investigations, he would have had something more definite to say about the Japanese.

Much amateur view has been advanced as to the biological aspect of intermarriage. For example, some people attribute the present unhappy condition of Mexico to the admixture of Spanish and native blood. This is tommy rot. If the Mexicans enjoyed the advantage of modern educational system and basked in the blessings of an efficient government they would be just as efficient and keen as the other Latin American people. It is not the mixture of blood but corrupt political system and bad social environment which are responsible for their degradation. Let us listen to what Francis Lieber has to say on this point:

"It is one of the greatest blessings to live under wise laws administered by an upright government and obeyed and carried out by good and staunch citizens; it is most grateful and animating to a generous heart, and a mind which cheerfully assists in the promotion of the general good, or salutary institutions. It greatly contributes to our self-esteem if we live in a community which we respect, among fellow-men we gladly acknowledge as fellow-citizens. Many of the noblest actions which now adorn the pages of history have originated from this course of inspiration. On the contrary, we feel ourselves humbled, dispirited, we find our own views contracted and our moral vigor relaxed, we feel deprived of that buoyancy without which no manly and resolute self-possession can exist, it wears off the edge of moral sensitiveness, when we see ourselves surrounded by men with loose political principles, by a society destitute of active public opinion, which neither cheers the honest nor frowns down immoral boldness; when we hear of bribed judges, perjured officers, suborned witnesses, of favor instead of law, and can perceive only listless spectators, without any opinion of their own, any spirit of veracity and trustworthiness or mutual dependence."

This is exactly the theory applicable to Mexico. It is

idle to ascribe the chaotic state in that country to the hybrid race that dwell there.

Modern Biological Views.

Such great American authorities on biology as Professor Boas and Professor Loeb, of Columbia University, have frequently stated that intermarriage of Japanese and Americans begets offspring by no means inferior to either race. Professor Baelz, a German physician of the Tokio Imperial University, says on this matter:

“On this question I may speak with a certain degree of authority, having been the first, and in fact up to this day the only scientist, who has made a special study of the comparison of the physical qualities of the Japanese and European races. Besides, as a physician in Tokio during thirty years, I have had the opportunity of examining an unusually large number of Eurasians, and I have paid particular attention to them. The result of my observations is that they are a healthy set of people, and I do not hesitate to say that not one of the common arguments against them is supported by science. They are on an average well built, and show no tendency to organic disease more than Europeans or Japanese do. This is the more remarkable as many of them grow up under unfavorable circumstances, the father often having left them with little money to the care of a mother who has no authority over them. This is a particularly important point if the moral qualities are considered. In Europe, too, we know that abandoned illegitimate children very often turn out badly, and a fair comparison must take that into serious consideration. To make quite sure about the intellectual and moral qualities of the Eurasian, I have asked the opinion of the man who is more than any other qualified to give an authoritative judgment—Mr. Heinrich, director of the School of the Morning Star. He has had in his classes, side by side, Europeans, Japanese, and almost all the male half-breds in Tokio. His opinion is, that if properly brought up and well-looked after, the half-breds are morally and intellectually in no way inferior to the children of both races. As a rule they are taller and more robust than the Japanese, and in every branch of learning they are fully up to the standard of their fellow-scholars.”

Climate, diet, dwelling, social environment, and a hundred other things greatly affect human stature and physiognomy. In antiquity, the Fins were a branch of the Mongolian race,

yet there is hardly any semblance of similarity between the Fins of today and the Mongolians of today. Some of the races that dwell in Russia, Hungary, and Hobemia are also members of the Mongolian stock, but today they are more closely allied to the Caucasian race than to the Mongolian. Ethnologists agree that the Koreans are of the Aryan stock. The Ainus who dwell in northern Japan are also of Aryan origin. And yet owing to the environment in which they have lived for centuries they are today more of the Mongolian type than of the Caucasian. When we look beyond the horizon of the present and far into the ages that are to come we cannot but believe that the hands of Providence will gradually mold the white and semi-white races of the East and the West into one type, or at least eliminate many of the features that today distinguish the Occidental from the Oriental.

But how about the present? Our answer is simple. Infinite patience, coupled with firm determination, good nature backed with strong will, polite smile combined with stiff backbone, courtesy accompanied with self-respect and sound judgment—these will take care of the present as far as the Japanese are concerned.

Professor Veblen on the Japanese Race.

I have already said more than I started out to say, and I conclude with the following quotation from a recent essay entitled "The Opportunity of Japan" written by Professor Thorstein Veblen, of the University of Missouri:

"In the point of their racial make-up the Japanese are very much the same as the Occidental nations from whom they are now borrowing ways and means and into the midst of whom they are driving their way by help of these borrowed ways and means.

"It is, of course, not intended to claim that there subsists anything like an identity of race, as between the Japanese and the Christian nations, nor even a particularly near or intimate relationship; but the run of the well known facts is sufficiently convincing to the effect that the Japanese people readily fall into the same ways of thinking and reasoning, that they readily assimilate the same manner of theoretical constructions in science and technology, that the same scheme of conceptional values and logical sequence carries conviction in Japan as in the Occident. Their intellectual perspective is so nearly the same that the same facts, seen in the same connection, are convincing to the

same effect. It need by no means imply an inclusive psychological identity or duplication, but the facility and effect with which the Japanese are taking to Western habits of thought in matters of technology and scientific knowledge shows a sufficiently convincing equality or equivalence between them and their Western fellow men in respect of their intellectual make-up.

"This intellectual or psychological equivalence will stand out in relief when the Japanese case is contrasted with what has befallen certain other peoples, racially alien to the bearers of the Western culture, such as the Negro, Polynesian, or East Indian. These others have been exposed to the Occidental technological system—the system of the machine industry—but they have been brought to no effectual comprehension of the logic and efficiency of the Western technological equipment, have not acquired or assimilated the drift and bias of the material science of the West, and have, even under hard compulsion, been unable to effect anything like a practicable working arrangement with the Occidental system of mechanical efficiency and economic control.

"And even as the Japanese show this facile apprehension of Occidental methods and values in the domain of material knowledge, so also is there apparently a close resemblance in point of emotional complexion, suggested, e. g., by the close similarity between the feudal system as it has prevailed in Japan, and, in its time, in Western Europe. Similar material circumstances, particularly in respect of the industrial arts, appear to have induced similar institutional results and a parallel range of ideals and ethical values, such as would presume a somewhat closely similar run of human nature in the two cases.

"This similarity in point of native traits, if so it can be called, is due not to an identity of race but rather to a parallelism in racial composition. Like the peoples of Christendom, and more particularly like that group of peoples that cluster about the North Sea, and that make up the center of diffusion of the Western culture, the Japanese are, racially, a hybrid population. The several racial elements that go to make up the hybrid mixture are, of course, not the same in the two cases under comparison, nor are they, perhaps, at all nearly related in point of racial derivation. But both of these two contrasted populations alike show that wide-ranging variability of individuals that is characteristic of hybrid peoples, both in the absence of uniformity

in respect of physical type and in their relatively great variety of intellectual and spiritual endowment, both in degree and in kind. This variability of these hybrid peoples becomes more obvious when they are contrasted with peoples of relatively unmixed stock, or even with the average run of mankind at large. Indeed, it may be set down as an earmark of hybridism. It is a factor of serious consequence for the cultural scheme of any such population, particularly for its stability; since such a wide-fluctuating variability of individuals within any given community will give, in effect, a large available flexibility of type, and so will afford a wide and facile susceptibility to new ideas and new grounds of action.

"Such being the character of the human raw material in and by which the Japanese situation is to be worked out, it should presumably follow that, just as the material and matter-of-fact elements of Western civilization are finding ready lodgment and fertile ground among them, so should these intrusive matter-of-fact conceptions presently, and with celerity, induce the working out of a corresponding fabric of matters of imputation—principles of conduct, articles of faith, social conventions, ethical values. The impersonal and materialistic bias of modern science and technology has among the Western peoples, already gone far to dissipate those putative values on which any feudal and autocratic regime must necessarily rest. And since the same impersonal and materialistic frame of mind proves, to all appearance, to be characteristic of the Japanese, they should also expect presently to experience its spiritual, and therefore its institutional consequences."

EYE TO EYE.

By Benjamin Ide Wheeler,
President University of California.

Japan and the United States must get on together in neighborliness and co-operation. The fates of geography and commerce make them sharers of the Great Northern Ocean. Down through the coming centuries they must live more and more in touch with each other. They must share and be patient; seek to see each through the other's eyes, yield a little, abate each a little of the full measure of

theoretic right. They must with deliberate intent plan to get on together. They cannot afford to let things drift, else there will arise continual sources of misunderstanding. They inherit fundamentally different traditions. In them meet the two poles of the historic world-order. It is not primarily a matter of racial contrast; it is a contrast of social and economic standards. Glossing over the fact with thin veneers of smiles and nice words and formal assurances is sheer folly, and folly fraught with immeasurable peril to both parties and to all the world. What we need is frankness of speech and honesty of action. Diplomacy is good as an occasional sedative, but inadequate as a food. We must face the plain facts. We must see with open eyes and confess with calm and righteous judgment the difficulties under which we each labor in reaching a basis of common understanding. How to understand each other's situation and point of view,—that is the problem—a hard problem, but there is no other way, except the way of anger. And anger settles nothing. It effects nothing but joint injury.

Whatever our later misunderstandings it is most fortunate that our first introduction to each other was favorable and all the early days of our intercourse most satisfactory. America will not soon forget how trustfully Japan gave her her hand to be led in at the gates of Occidental civilization. Nor will Japan forget the sympathy and support she received from America in her days of greatest stress. America has always entertained a feeling of real admiration for the people of the Island Kingdom and has regarded their progress with something of a godfather's pride. Such a tradition and such a relationship constitute for either people a definite national asset, and cannot be lightly thrown by the board.

We appreciate the wisdom of Japan's consent to the practical exclusion of Japanese laborers through the device of withholding passports under what is known as the "gentlemen's agreement", and we recognize the honorableness with which Japan has carried out her part of the contract. This would seem to be a fair example of one nation's appreciating the difficulties inherent in the situation of the other, i. e., of seeing things as the other sees them. We ask for a continuation of that attitude of sympathy. The Japanese people surely understand that it is not on merely arbitrary grounds that we insist on the necessity of denying admission to their laborers. If for any reason the

“gentlemen’s agreement” should be abrogated, we should find it extremely difficult to agree upon a treaty which would accomplish the purpose. Japan is one of the Great Powers of the world, her people represent one of the highest types of the world’s civilization. They are not unnaturally jealous of their position and sensitive regarding any apparent infringement of their claim. They would not welcome American legislation discriminating against them and they certainly would not agree to a treaty which by their very acceptance of it would constitute or seem to constitute a documentary confession on their part of oddity, if not of inferiority. We know these things are facts, and these facts make up the chief difficulty of our position—a difficulty for which we have as yet found no solution, a difficulty regarding which we earnestly solicit the sympathy of the Japanese people. The main reason why none of the measures looking toward exclusion have been adopted by recent Congresses is to be found in the unwillingness of our Government to offer what might be interpreted as an affront to the Japanese people.

We are hoping, however, that with the passage of time the Japanese people may come to recognize that our exclusion policy is by no means directed against them as a people, nor against any people, but concerns a world-area wherein economic conditions through age-long training and compacting have come to be essentially different from those prevailing in the sparse-settled lands of the frontiersmen. There could be no more convincing proof of this than that British Columbia and Australia, constituent parts of an Empire with which Japan is allied, agree entirely with California, Oregon and Washington as to the absolute necessity of exclusion and have adopted more drastic measures thereto, than have the United States.

As regards California and other Pacific States, I beg one item of tolerance. These States are not made up of perverse, rude people, slaves of labor unions who have arbitrarily conceived a malicious pleasure in misrepresenting and opposing people from the other side of the sea. They are rather to be thought of as being the Americans who have had practical experience with the problems involved in the contact of East and West and have arrived at the most sensible view regarding these problems; and it will be safe and reasonable to estimate that other Americans, as fast as they come to a full understanding of the

situation, will take the same view.

So much for my prayer that the Japanese may regard with sympathetic eye our difficulties; now I have to admit that in one chief point the Japanese have good reason to ask a return of the favor. I can see that in spite of all good will the Japanese Government finds it increasingly difficult to explain to its people our apparent discrimination against them. It appears as if we ranked them among the secondary people. It is not our intention, but if we look at the matter from the eyes of the Japanese, I think we cannot fail to see how the national pride is affected and how we are inevitably convicted in their minds of unfairness. They are a strong, proud people, naturally conscious of their achievement, rightfully ambitious of full recognition as a civilized nation. We shall have to listen to their desire and give it full weight. It is no specific thing that they ask—but only equal treatment among the nations. In this connection there commends itself to our attention the proposal of Dr. Gulick (The American Japanese Problem), which admits from any land, Asiatic or European, a certain fixed percentage of those from the same land who are already naturalized American citizens. This proposal has the double merit of avoiding a sudden change in the proportions of immigrants from different countries and of treating all on a common basis. I am surprised to see how little attention has thus far been devoted to this remarkable suggestion. More will surely be heard of it in the days to come. In close conjunction therewith will be considered the problems of naturalization now forcing themselves to attention, but whatever we consider and whatever we do, we must go to our work with the plain understanding that in one way or other we must get on together. For we are neighbors.

From "America to Japan,"
G. P. Putnam's Sons.

JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES.

Especially written for the Japanese-American News.

By Ray Lyman Wilbur,

President Leland Stanford Junior University.

The broad and idealistic aspirations of the Japanese make them natural co-workers with the best sentiment of the United States in trying to bring about more wholesome international relationships between all nations. Difference in ancestry and race need be no bar to the creation of the friendliest feeling on both sides of the Pacific. The rapid progress of modern transportation facilities is bringing Japan and the United States nearer together each year. Both countries are bound to have some clashing of interests, some differences in ideals, some misunderstandings. Both must live and both must live honorably. Both certainly can by mutual understanding and agreement live amicably together. A greater knowledge of Japan on the part of America and a clearer perception on the part of Japan of the attitude of the American laborer towards his desired standard of living will help much to keep both ready and willing to be patient, considerate and forbearing. America has welcomed those immigrants that are readily assimilated into its life, has regretted the forced immigration of the African races, and now looks askance, particularly while almost gorged with its present raw material, at the possibility of additions from Asia. The modern rise of the Japanese made possible by the secure foundations of the past has been too rapid to be grasped by the outsider. Patience, time, mutual knowledge, frankness, the striving for high ideals, will gradually settle problems that will only be accentuated by haste, bitterness or displays of force.

OUR RELATIONS WITH JAPAN.

Especially written for the Japanese-American News.

By Arthur I. Pope,
Professor of Philosophy, University of California.

For more than fifty years America enjoyed from the Japanese people and government a degree of good will that has rarely been accorded to one nation by another. Next to their own country, the Japanese people honored and loved America, and they enthusiastically expressed this friendship on many occasions. On their side the American people in turn profoundly admired the rapid and easy mastery of Western civilization which the Japanese displayed, our government lost no opportunity to show its friendliness, our artists and cultivated people made almost a cult of Japanese art, and when Japan fought with Russia, the Americans as a people hailed each victory with enthusiasm, deploring each reverse, honoring every hero almost as if their very own.

These happy relations have been painfully and needlessly marred. In place of the unanimous friendliness and admiration on the part of the Japanese we find among them despite forbearance and determined hopefulness considerable subdued hostility, and an annoyed perplexity. In place of the concord of unqualified admiration and good will from America, we find in many quarters—thought frequently more noisy and conspicuous than representative—the same suspicion, plus a more active and determined hostility. This situation, although not nearly so fundamental and serious as it is often pictured, is none the less sufficiently deplorable to call for determined diagnosis and equally determined remedy. There is too little international good will in the world for any of it to be wasted. There should be continued searching of hearts until all the causes for this mutual annoyance and suspicion be discovered and removed and a noble national friendship completely restored.

In the discussion of this rather delicate matter there has been a generally praiseworthy demand for frankness. But frankness has generally been most popular when it is at the expense of the other fellow. Too often frankness is but a virtuous cloak assumed to enable one to say a lot of disagreeable things about a neighbor, which if undisguised would be forbidden by common politeness. But frankness like charity ought to begin at home, and I have accordingly

thought it worth while to call attention again to some of the well known but not yet universally acknowledged failings of the Americans in their dealings with the Japanese.

There was one unstable feature about the rather idyllic early friendship between America and Japan. It did not rest upon any clear or comprehensive knowledge of one another. That indispensable basis for a sound and permanent friendship was pretty much lacking. Enthusiasm and sentiment are too fragile and temporary to ensure permanent regard surviving every strain. Perhaps out of the present annoyance will issue a fuller knowledge that shall ultimately guarantee a maturer and more solid friendship.

The fact that the anti-Japanese agitation was inaugurated by a criminal in co-operation with a lunatic furthered by labor agitators and sustained by a yellow press ought in itself have been enough to damn it; but the few sparks of legitimate difficulty and annoyance fell into the tinder of ignorance; hence all the trouble. Accurate, impartial, well diffused knowledge would have rendered this entire propaganda abortive. For the American hostility to the Japanese, such as it is, is in the main traceable to ignorance and misinformation; not only ignorance of Japan itself, its wonderful history, its unsurpassable art, its charming and poetic people and the many things that they do better than we do, but very frequently to actual dense ignorance of the very things complained of. The whole story of the controversy shows how dangerous ignorance is, how upon the slightest provocation—such as for example legitimate competition—ignorance breeds prejudice, while prejudice in its turn fosters a stupid and hideous brood of falsehood and hatred.

Such a situation is always rendered the more alarming, because of the number of persons ready to profit by such misunderstandings, who through malice or hope of personal advantage or both seek to inflame the needless quarrel, some by crawling innuendo, some by deliberate fabrication, such as the recent newspaper yarns about the Japanese Bernhardt. There are still certain newspapers that industriously spread lies, and play upon fear; there are still unscrupulous or ignorant politicians that have not hesitated to make the most silly and insulting remarks. Would that these false prophets and faithless servants who have sown the seeds of hatred and misunderstanding alone might reap the whirlwind.

Let us take a few examples of dangerous trouble-breeding ignorance. The word was pretty generally passed about at the time of the Anti-Alien Land Legislation that, despite the "gentlemen's agreement," hordes of Japanese were still ferreting their way into the country. No shred of evidence has ever been cited in behalf of this assertion, chiefly for the simple reason that there isn't any, for, as everyone knows who has made any effort to inform himself, there has been a steady decrease of Japanese in California since 1908, the total reduction, according to the official figures, being 4408.

The preposterous charge that wicked Japanese men were flooding the primary schools of San Francisco and corrupting the morals of our children turned out to be ridiculous, not to say contemptible calumny; but the weird tale was and is still believed by many, and unjustly created much hard feeling.

That the Japanese are paupers, that they are dirty and shiftless, has been charged and believed in some quarters, although the truth is wholly to the contrary. The accusation of extreme sexual immorality was almost as ill-founded, and has been well refuted by Dr. Gulick, as well as Mr. Woehlke's reckless charges about the dishonest failures of the Japanese banks. That the Japanese were everywhere underbidding American laborers was sufficiently refuted in the Mackenzie report, yet the many union laborers in the building trades and shops who have never felt any competition from the Japanese seem violently possessed of devils whenever the subject is mentioned. Americans are not supposed to be gullible, but when, since the age of hobgoblins and witches, have so many supposedly intelligent people been taken in by a wild tale as have been by the stories of the thousands of Japanese reservists drilling at night in secret places. Yet this really comical story has been repeated with solemn face in halls of legislation and thousands of Americans have believed it. Surely this shows a determined eagerness to believe anything bad or alarming about the Japanese. Again ignorance bred suspicion and hostility.

More plausible but equally unfounded has been the general conviction that a race, particularly an Oriental race, is a mysterious unchanging entity, incapable of permanent and happy adjustment, utterly incapable of assimilation to

American ways and ideals. But Ethnology and Race Psychology long ago consigned this prejudice to limbo along with theory that any particular race has any innate superior capacity.

The charge that Japan has closed the door in Manchuria to American trade originated with some disappointed American traders who had not the energy to make the adjustments necessary to succeed in that rather difficult market. But discrimination there is none, nor has there been any. But it seems that in some quarters a charge against the Japanese has only to be made to be believed and passed on with interest.

Could anything be more grotesque than an American complaint of the Japanese business morals? America, the home of graft, the country where municipal corruption has been brought to a fine art, where there is a lucrative profession devoted to instruct business how to evade the law, where state supreme courts have sold verdicts, where gigantic public utilities like the New Haven, Rock Island, St. Louis & San Francisco railroads were ruthlessly burglarized, where widows and orphans have been defrauded through notorious insurance scandals, where legislatures have been bought and sold and franchises stolen—can such a country with such a beam of unrighteousness in its own eye afford to look for a mote of dishonesty in any neighbor's eye? In truth our business morality has made us a hissing and a byword among the nations, and if humiliation does not suffice to stop the mouth of our complaint against others who in a retail way may exemplify our wholesale sins, at least our sense of humor ought to silence us. Indeed had they chosen to take it, the Japanese could have found ready to hand a fearful retort. Would we who have had to bear so much false witness against our neighbor have overlooked or refrained had we a similar opportunity?

Not to review the innumerable examples of misinformation and prejudice, such as the repeatedly exposed fake about the Chinese tellers in Japanese banks, how many Americans who have glibly condemned the recent Japanese negotiations with China have taken the trouble to accurately inform themselves concerning those demands and the history behind them. They are in fact surprisingly innocent when examined apart from headlines. How many have stopped to consider that a corrupt, inefficient, tyrant-ridden, rebellion-torn China is an extreme menace to the safety of Japan,

particularly in view of the quite unscrupulous and unjustified aggressions of European nations who have not hesitated to use China as a basis for trouble making. Only with a developed, fortified and wisely guided China can there be permanent peace in the Orient. We who made war on Spain because of the injustice and chronic disorder at our doors, we who proclaim the Monroe Doctrine and cry "America for the Americans," how could we do otherwise if we were fair-minded, than approve of the Japanese policy of "Asia for the Asiatics"? And yet even the display of force necessary to carry out the Japanese program was so repugnant to the majority of the Japanese people that the ministry was nearly overthrown.

Yet if there are many essential conditions of the problem which the average American is ignorant of, if his ignorance has been a receptive and productive soil for unfounded charges with their consequent train of suspicion and hostility, culminating as they did in an unjust, discriminatory, unnecessary land law—a law, by the way, quite at variance with the spirit of paramount treaty obligation—there are also some features of the question which the average Japanese may overlook. If it is a mystery how the average level-headed Americans could become so agitated over a mythical race issue, the Japanese should remember that we have not yet recovered from all the bitter waste and confusion of a dreadful conflict over a race issue. In the beginning there were only a few thousand negroes, yet from apparently innocent beginnings came forth a monstrous problem that well nigh wrecked the nation and even now sorely perplexes us. To the clear minded there is no analogy between the two situations, yet the memory of the first is still too agitating to permit of general clear thinking on the subject of a race issue.

There is one other source of uneasiness perhaps not so readily dispelled. It is reported here in America, how justly it is not easy to determine, that there is a strong and growing party in Japan who profess admiration for the militaristic philosophy that has of late been associated with the name of Germany. Whether this still numerically small group is relatively any more powerful than a similar group in this country is not clear. At any rate one thing is pretty certain. The average American hates militarism and all its works with utter loathing. While it is true that

America has in the last century, owing to very special conditions, largely increased her territory, none the less the Americans are not an aggressive people. They have no taste for conquest. They regard aggrandizement by force, opportunism, chauvinism, *real politik*, the will to power, and all the hateful paraphernalia of violence and scheming with abhorrence. Military power we as a people think of as a last resource, and the mere glorification of force for its own sake we regard as the pastime of fools and lunatics, or, at best, of narrow minded, dehumanized specialists. If there is a growing militaristic sentiment in Japan, and certain natural causes favor it, the knowledge of this sentiment is bound to make Americans uneasy. I do not now refer to the doctrine of defensive preparedness—though some of our vociferous and fanatical advocates of preparedness might reasonably cause concern in Japan—but rather to the approval of a certain set of unprincipled methods which are generally known as militarism. For this dragon there should be no quarter anywhere in the world.

Less justifiable, but equally real, is the fantastic dread among the less intelligent classes of Asia's millions of potential soldiers. That there is no motive for Asia to try to overrun and conquer the Western world, that there is nothing in the character or history of the Chinese or Hindus or Japanese to suggest that they would ever want to attempt such a thing, even if they could see any prospect of success; these are potent considerations quite lost to those who are agitated by mere numbers. Again it is ignorance that harbors this folly, and a really enlightened acquaintance with the Orient, and a more honorable and generous policy on the part of the European nations having business in the Orient, will suffice to lay this ghost forever. As Commissioner Harada well said at a recent dinner given to the Japanese Commissioners at the University of California, "The only Yellow Peril is the peril of Yellow Journalism."

If ignorance is the root evil of the whole issue, knowledge will be the radical cure, and an unremitting campaign of education for both nations, but more especially for America, will lay a basis for a sound and permanent friendship that can never be disturbed by innuendo or falsehood. Surprising as it may seem to many complacent Americans, America has a great deal to learn from and about Japan. In proportion as we do learn in just that proportion will the silly and mendacious stories about the Japanese cease

to have currency, and will cease to breed needless suspicion and hostility. In proportion as we know Japan will we respect and honor her. With mutual good will, born of mutual knowledge, every difficulty can be settled readily and prejudice dispersed. Profitable co-operation will take the place of jealousy and distrust, and an interchange of material and cultural goods be promoted which shall favorably affect the destinies of both nations.

THE JAPANESE QUESTION IN AMERICA.

Especially written for the Japanese-American News.

By Walter Macarthur.

(Mr. Macarthur was for several years editor of the Coast Seamen's Journal and is prominent in the labour movement in California. He is an influential member of the Democratic Party, and is at present a Shipping Commissioner for San Francisco.)

The movement for Asiatic exclusion is based chiefly upon economic grounds. There is, of course, a racial aspect of the question. This latter phase, in the judgment of many persons, has assumed proportions that overshadow the economic considerations involved. It is in this connection that we find the chief source of the agitation that has taken place, and which has tended to create bad feeling and misunderstanding, with the result of obscuring the real question at issue.

In discussing the racial characteristics of the Japanese people much has been said which, whether true or not, might better have been left unsaid, and which, in the nature of things, is not susceptible of proof. No one, I take it, will deny the fact that racial differences exist between the peoples of the Orient and the Occident. As to the extent of these differences, their character, and the effect of a possible admixture upon either people, there is much room for discussion, but very little prospect of arriving at any definite conclusion.

The very uncertainty of the problem gave opportunity for the exploitation of theories and the assertion of dogmas. This opportunity was taken full advantage of, no doubt honestly in most instances, and in others with more than a suspicion of interested motive, apart from the welfare of those immediately concerned.

In one instance, a certain newspaper, with a well-established reputation as an opponent of every movement for the promotion of the public interests, constituted itself the especial champion of Japanese exclusion. The friends of that movement naturally availed themselves of this powerful influence. Being unable, of course, to direct the policy of their new-found champion, they were unwittingly made a party to views and suggestions, and even to actions, which they did not approve, but for which they were naturally, and in a sense rightly held responsible.

In another instance, no less an authority than the then President of the United States assumed an attitude, with reference especially to the "school question", which had then reached an acute stage, that was calculated to create the deepest resentment among the people of the West, without regard to their views concerning the wisdom of the course adopted by the avowed exclusionists.

These are but examples of the state of things that existed during the critical period of the negotiations for a restriction of immigration from Japan. It may safely be said that whatever danger lay in these negotiations was due more to the bad temper created by misrepresentation and the false attitude of these powerful factors in the case than by anything directly related to the real issue in hand.

In short, the real issue was in danger of being entirely lost sight of, so that the outcome turned upon a question of national pride rather than upon the common-sense economic proposition really involved. This proposition would not of itself have led to any serious misunderstanding on either side.

I have always assumed, and still assume, that the Japanese people would, if given an opportunity to get the true point of view of the American people, agree with us that a restriction, or even exclusion, of Japanese laborers would be advantageous both to them and to us. It was the injection of the idea of racial inferiority—an idea that had no place in the minds of any honest exclusionist—that led to the misunderstanding and created a breach between the two peoples.

I believe that there are racial differences between the American and the Japanese peoples, and that these differences must be taken into consideration in this connection in order that the future welfare of the people of the United States may be safeguarded against any injurious admixture,

either in the family or in the political life of the country. I do not, however, assume any superiority on one hand or inferiority on the other.

I am perfectly willing to accept the theory that we have nothing to fear at the hands of an inferior people. If this theory be correct, it follows that our fears of Japanese immigration arise from an instinctive conception of superiority on the part of the latter. But, all theories aside, the fact remains that any influx of labor coming from any part of the world should be guarded against in view of the present state of the so-called labor market.

How to prevent an influx of labor is a question not of national dignity, of personal pride, of inferiority, or of superiority, but simply of common-sense practical legislation, based upon well understood rules of legal precedence.

We all agree, I believe, that any measure which shall regulate immigration in such manner as to conserve the right of the American people to the enjoyment of the resources of the country and to develop their national life in accordance with their own ideals and traditions, may not only be rightly sought by the American people, but should also be accepted by the peoples of all other countries as fundamental to the progress of the nation.

I am a firm believer in the virtue of face-to-face and shoulder-to-shoulder association. I think that in all cases much more may be achieved by such means than by mass meetings, pronunciamentos and ultimata. A few short and honest, but not ugly, words will go further in harmonizing the relations between honest and intelligent men than any amount of the other sort of thing.

CALIFORNIA AND THE JAPANESE.

Epecially written for the Japanese-American News.

By George Malcolm Stratton,

Professor of Psychology, University of California.

My regret is deep that I have had no opportunity to know the land of Japan; but I am glad that even here in America I have been able to know something of the spirit of that country. And this knowledge had its beginning in an early friendship. When a student at Yale it was my good fortune to become acquainted with Dr.

Rikizo Nakashima, now a distinguished member of the faculty of the Imperial University of Tokyo. And he told me much about his native land; but, better still, he himself was so keen of mind, so sensitive morally, and withal so modest and kind, that from that hour I never could feel aught but respect and admiring sympathy for what lay in the Japanese character at its best.

Thus begun, this kindly feeling has been strengthened by all that I since have learned, and latest of all by the impression gained at the Fair in San Francisco during the months that now are closing.

For we of California cannot but discern an especial grace in the act of the Japanese in participating so heartily in the Exposition, and in giving from their exhibit so generously to the University of California. Such acts show a spirit as admirable as it is rare in the intercourse of nations. The world needs that there shall pass across its governmental boundaries acts of so true gentility.

It is to be hoped most earnestly that my own State of California will in due time reveal a like quality of conduct. I cannot but feel that in restricting the privileges of the Japanese freely to acquire land, her act, under the circumstances, was entirely without justification. The Japanese government had already agreed—and, I think, with wisdom,—to control the amount and kind of its emigration to America. And Professor Millis, in his recent and able study entitled “The Japanese Problem in the United States,” finds no reason whatever to doubt the fidelity with which Japan has kept her agreement with our government. Indeed in her desire to observe this agreement beyond its mere letter, she has also controlled her emigration to Canada and Mexico, lest her people might thus indirectly enter our land. The result of this care is that fewer Japanese are entering than are leaving the United States.

Now this check was in operation before the passage of the California land-law, and consequently that law cannot with any justice be judged necessary to prevent the State from being “flooded” with Japanese. The needlessness of the act is already recognized by many Californians; and it is my earnest hope that their number will increase until the State government will finally retrace its unfortunate step. For California is in a false position, and one that needlessly irritates the Japanese both here and in their own country. There are other ways, as I shall point out,

in which the act of the California Legislature may possibly in time be made of no effect; but for the honor of the State, in which as a native I take an especial pride, I hope that she will of her own free choice repeal her unhappy legislation.

Our National Congress freely and without pressure from without annulled its own act regarding the tolls of the Panama Canal, because it seemed to many Americans to be of doubtful propriety in view of our treaty with England. And even so we must hope that in the end the Legislature of California will see a higher honor in the repeal of its own unjustified act. The time, the great war, is educating us all to a sense of international responsibility, to a greater readiness to give weight to the claims of those without. The times make us aware that each nation, and each portion of the nation, such as the State of California, must work with a will for the great ends of justice and order and the respect of nations beyond our own.

A repeal by California herself, as I have already said, would be most desired by those who are jealous of her honor. But if by some blindness the State should stand doggedly where she is, then there are at least two possibilities which may bring relief. The one is, the plan suggested by Dr. Gulick: For the limitation of immigration according to the number of persons foreign born already in our country; and for the admission to citizenship of all those personally fit for the privilege, without regard to race. By making it possible for the Japanese to acquire citizenship, this would meet the difficulty created by the California law. For this law restricts the privilege merely of those not eligible to citizenship; and should the Japanese once be made eligible, then by that very fact they would escape the prohibitions of the law.

Another mode of relief is being urged by ex-President Taft, who would have all matters affecting the rights of aliens within the various States of the Union taken from the control of the States and placed under the care of the National government. Such a change is greatly needed; for as matters are at present, the foreign relations of the entire country may be imperilled by some local legislation and local feeling. Questions that vitally affect the nation as a whole, as do those of the rights of aliens, should be decided by the nation, and not by a particular State.

In a situation such as this, with all its legal complications, the American friends of Japan appreciate the self-control which she has shown. Wise indeed are the recent words of Baron Shibusawa when, in speaking of this problem in California, he said: "In my judgment all that is needed there is mutual concession and a measure of patience on the part of both." The continued patience, the continued expectation that soon or late the sense of justice of the Americans will find expression,—this on the part of the Japanese seems to me in every way worthy of a high-minded nation. Japan's readiness to act with courtesy and good will even to the particular State that had been least careful of Japanese sensibilities, must gain for her a still larger friendship. She has been wise, too, in not pressing upon us, in season and out of season, her own view of her people's rights. She has trusted to the healing influence, the wisdom-giving influence, of time. The words she has occasionally uttered, as in that notable collection of papers by many of her distinguished men, called "Japan to America," will surely contribute to this healing. Those who have at heart the interest and dignity of the United States cannot but trust that America as a whole, and every part of America, will in all things prove worthy of the respect of her excellent and great neighbor across the sea.

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN.

Especially written for the Japanese-American News.

By James W. Mullen,

Editor "Labour Clarion," San Francisco.

It is the desire of the American labor movement that sincerely harmonious relations be maintained between the governments of the United States and Japan, just as it desires the friendship and co-operation of all other people in the work of lifting all humankind up to a broader, brighter and happier existence.

The labor movement is as broad as the earth and welcomes the opportunity to be of service to the workers of every clime without regard to race, color or creed. It is insistent that improved conditions, once established, shall never be torn down, and that the leveling process in adjusting inequalities between sections shall always be upward

to the altitude of the higher, and never downward to the lower. To this end it directs its energies.

The American workers have struggled through long years of bitter strife in building up the conditions that surround them in their daily life, and very naturally they propose to guard the conditions for which they have paid such a price with zealous care. Out of this feeling has grown the present problem that now clamors for solution.

The Japanese workers who came to our shores were willing to work longer hours and for less pay than were the toilers already here, and this had a tendency to break down trade union rules and lower the established standard of living. To this the American worker most strenuously objected and began to call for restriction of the immigration from Japan. The objection of the American worker to the Japanese was not based upon racial ground. It was economic. The racial question, of course, has since been injected into the issue by designing persons, and has caused much bad feeling between the two peoples, but labor's objection still remains an economic one.

It has been the experience of the organized workers of the world that the better men know each other the stronger grows the respect of each for the other, and it is the hope of the American toiler that in some such way may be found a solution for the problems that now cause friction and discord between the people of the North American continent and those of Japan.

The coming to this country of the two representatives of the Japanese workers, B. Suzuki and S. Yoshimatsu, as fraternal delegates to our conventions, and the exchanging of views and opinions between these men and representatives of American trade unions, has done much to clear the atmosphere and arrive at a better understanding as to the aims and desires of the peoples on both sides of the Pacific.

The American worker is constantly confronted with a problem of unemployment and is endeavoring to limit immigration, not only from Japan, but from all other countries as well, and this policy will doubtless be continued until such time as conditions have been established here that will provide the opportunity of earning a living to all the workers now here. This, the American worker feels, is a sane, sensible and thoroughly reasonable policy against which no worker can justly complain.

As the process of organization of the workers of Japan

advances, and improved conditions surrounding them are brought about, wages increased and the length of the work day shortened, there will be less desire on the part of these workers to emigrate to the United States, and with these conditions prevailing in Japan there would be less danger to the American workers' standards if they did come here, because they would then be imbued with trade union ideals and willing to stand up for them.

With the intelligent men of the two countries desirous of maintaining friendly and mutually helpful relations there can be but scant satisfaction in the situation for the jingoes and alarmists on either side of the Pacific, and with such men as Baron Shibusawa taking an active and unselfish interest in the problems of labor, both here in the United States and in his own country, it is more than likely some satisfactory adjustment of our difficulties will eventually be reached.

WHAT THE WEST MIGHT LEARN FROM JAPAN.

By George Kennan.

In a recent editorial on the improved relations between Russia and Japan, the Petrograd Reitch said: "It was easy for us to make friends with the Japanese, after the war of 1904-5, because they always fought us like gentlemen."

To the dispassionate observer of wars, nothing is more striking than the difference between the spiritual attitude of the Japanese toward the Russians, in the war of 1904-5, and that of the combatants toward one another in the present conflict. If ever a nation was engaged in a life-and-death struggle for existence, Japan certainly was so engaged ten years ago; and yet, the magnitude of the issue involved never inspired a "Hymn of Hatred" in Japan, nor excited rancorous animosity in the hearts of the Japanese people. They fought the Russians as fiercely as either side has fought the other in Belgium or France; but they never hated their enemies, either nationally or personally, and never failed to do full justice to Russian motives and conduct. In the course of two years' intercourse with Japanese soldiers and the Japanese people, between 1904 and 1906, I never heard a mean, ungenerous, or bitter remark made about the Russians, their character or their conduct of the war.

Soon after I arrived at Port Arthur, in the fall of 1904, I noticed that the Japanese Red Cross hospitals, in the zone of fire, were not flying the Red Cross flag; and when I inquired the reason for this, a Japanese officer told me, quietly and without emotion, that the Red Cross flags seemed to attract the fire of the Russian artillery, and they had therefore hauled them down. He made no comment, and one might have supposed that he regarded the firing on a Red Cross hospital as a natural and normal incident of war.

About the same time, I myself saw what seemed to be the deliberate and purposeful shelling of a long train of stretcherbearers, who were carrying Japanese wounded back from the front; but no Japanese, in conversation with me, ever referred to this cruel and dishonorable act as an illustration of Russian barbarity. They simply ignored it.

A few weeks later, I was called upon to act as interpreter in an interview between two Japanese staff officers and three or four Russian prisoners who had just been brought back from the firing line. I feared that the officers might put me in an unpleasant and awkward position by requesting me to ask the Russians questions which, as loyal soldiers, they could not properly answer; but I need have had no such fear. Not a single attempt was made to learn the state of affairs in Port Arthur, and not a question was asked that a loyal Russian soldier might not frankly answer without betraying his comrades, or the interests of his country. The Japanese would doubtless have been glad to know what the real state of affairs in the besieged fortress was; but to obtain the desired information by forcing or tempting a Russian prisoner to disregard his military oath and betray his comrades would have been a violation of the Japanese code of honor.

Evidence of Japanese chivalry and courtesy toward their enemies in Manchuria are so numerous that I hardly know how to make a selection from them; but every one who paid any attention to that war must remember the Japanese memorial service in honor of the Russian sailors who sank in the cruiser "Variag" at Chemulpo; the monument erected to the Russian soldiers who perished at Port Arthur; the memorial crosses put up over the graves of Russians who died between Liao-yang and Mukden; and the letter from the officers of the Japanese army to the officers of the Russian army, congratulating them on having

had in their service so heroic a man and so devoted a soldier as the spy Vassilli Liuboff. The Japanese shot the spy, but they paid honor to his brave Russian spirit, and expressed the courteous hope that in the Russian ranks might be found many soldiers equally patriotic and loyal. Does that sound like anything that we have heard from either side in the present conflict?

What, then, may the nations of the West, in the turmoil of war, learn from the greatest nation of the Orient? First of all, it seems to me, they may learn to hold their tongues and use their brains; to kill their enemies without insulting them; and to hit hard but fight fairly.

AMERICA AND JAPAN—WAR OR PEACE.

By Jefferson Jones.

(Mr. Jefferson Jones is on the editorial staff of the Minneapolis Journal, his father being the proprietor of that paper. Mr. Jones spent some two years in Japan and was connected with the Japan Advertiser, an American newspaper in Tokio. During the siege of Tsing-tau, the German stronghold in China, he was with the Japanese army and enjoyed the privilege of observing the Japanese military operations at close range. The following article is taken from his book entitled "The Fall of Tsing-tau," just published by Houghton Mifflin Company.)

We have seen placed on the statute books of Canada and Australia legislation which, as a barrier to the Japanese, is far more stringent than any acts passed by our Pacific Coast States. But has the reader heard any dangerous controversy arising between Japanese and British diplomats over the subject, or has there been any talk of Great Britain and Japan going to war because of such legislation?

No; because Great Britain has recognized Japan by its Anglo-Japanese Alliance. It is recognition from the Powers that Japan primarily wants—not emigration. The Japanese Government knows that the "all in all" question of its future is not bound up in the emigration of its citizens to the United States, there to take up their life residence, to rear their families and to become American citizens. But it does know that in the heterogeneous condition of the Far East it must solidify its colonies if it does not intend to see

them rise in revolt and break away from the present Government. Emigration to America, Canada, or Australia will not bring about this desired condition for the Japanese Government, but emigration into her own colonies will.

Until twenty years ago the Japanese Empire consisted of one people and peace reigned supreme. Since then the Empire has acquired Formosa, Manchuria, the Liao-tung Peninsula, and Korea, and with the additional territory has come much turmoil in the colonial possessions from the contact of the Japanese with the natives. It has been a difficult question for the Japanese Government to solve, how best to link its added territory to the main empire; and the only practical solution of the matter has been emigration, sending its citizens from the main islands into Formosa and Korea, there to establish themselves in business and intermarry with the natives. In this way the foreigners would amalgamate in time with the Japanese.

But when it came to the emigration of its citizens, there was always the United States offering more opportunity than the Japanese Government could offer, and the natural trend was toward America.

Since the first outbreak of the California question, the Japanese Government has realized its mistake, and is now bending all efforts to make its possessions in China and about the Yellow Sea attractive enough to draw citizens of Japan into Japanese possessions rather than to America.

At present the Government has been meeting with much opposition in its immigration plans, for the Koreans as well as the natives of Formosa have a bitter hatred for the Japanese and trouble is met with once the peoples intermingle. With China still much of an enigma, and with its dissolution as a nation seemingly close at hand, much depends upon Japan's ability to solve her emigration question if she wishes successfully to accomplish her continental expansion in Asia and in the Pacific.

But during the present century, while Japanese emigration has been going on, and the Japanese war scare has been making the rounds of America, Japan has advanced, from being regarded by Europe as on the same level with China, to being a first-class Power, allied with Great Britain, and consulted by all nations in matters affecting the Far East.

To the Japanese the California land law appears to be a refusal to recognize them as a first-class nation, because our Government has provided nothing to offset that opinion.

Great Britain, however, while she, too, has been enacting California legislation in her colonies against the Japanese, has shown that she harbors nothing against them as a nation by signing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Every foreigner who resides in Japan soon comes to learn that the Japanese are supersensitive. Failure to show little courtesies, which the foreigner would pass by with hardly a notice; strikes deep into the heart of the Oriental.

And so it is with America's Japanese problem. We have struck deep into the heart of the Japanese by seemingly refusing to recognize them. They will remember the action, which to them appears as an insult, until America—not Japan—does something to wash out the ill-feeling naturally resulting.

"I come now to the last important point demanding attention," writes Count Okuma, aged Japanese statesman, in his recent book, "Fifty Years of New Japan." "I mean our aspiration to be recognized by the world as a great nation. There is nothing strange in the demand that our people should be accorded the treatment due to their greatness as a Power, not merely in the Orient, but in the whole world."

With reference to the California question he says: "I am well aware that behind this anti-Japanese sentiment there exist various circumstances which deserve consideration. However, in so far as our people are disliked because they are Asiatics, there is nothing reasonable or logical in their hostile feeling. To reason against and to remove these prejudices and misconceptions is a mutual duty devolving as much on our people as on the Western nations concerned."

It is probably true that there are many Americans who dislike the Japanese because they are Asiatics, but these are in the minority; their bark carries with it no bite. On the other hand, the broad-minded men of both Japan and the United States realize that, underlying the California legislation against the Japanese, there are conditions which are proper for California to take note of. The work has been poorly done.

The average American and Japanese public have a misconception of the California legislation. It has a larger significance than just the question of admitting the Japanese. If the United States should admit the Japanese to immigration to this country, what point could you bring out in the Japanese as possible citizens that you could not find in

the Chinese or in the Hindu?

In fact, the California action is not aimed directly at the Japanese, though the latter may believe the opposite and feel the sting of it more sharply because their name is carried in the acts of legislation. No, the action is an indirect barrier to the immigration of any Asiatics to America. True, it is, there is already a federal regulation against the immigration of the Chinese into this country, but it is mainly because of economic reasons, as it is also the bar against the Japanese. Nevertheless, a great friendship exists between the United States and China, the same as there should exist between Japan and this country, and will exist as soon as America recognizes Japan satisfactorily as a Power.

Since Japan's stimulation of emigration to her own colonies of late, the Japanese war scare in America has been gradually subsiding, but jingo press artists from time to time continue to heap coal on the dying fire by spreading broadcast the untruthful report that the Japanese are landing troops on the shores of Turtle Bay in Southern California or in some other section of the Americas.

In speaking of the improved situation existing between the United States and Japan, Count Okuma said in April, this year:

"Practically all the friction that has arisen in America has grown out of one phase or another of the immigration question. That situation is improving somewhat and is one that I hope time will solve satisfactorily to both countries. It is a question which from its nature requires time for solution.

"The United States has had other such questions with other nations, which have always been solved by time, and so I hope for a similar solution of this question. There are now about eighty thousand Japanese in the United States—that is, in the mainland territory—and as many, or perhaps a few more, in Hawaii.

"This is a smaller number than were in the United States at the time the so-called gentlemen's agreement was concluded. Since that time more Japanese have come home from the United States than have gone there and the number in your country has been steadily reduced.

"This reduction has been slow, it is true, owing to the fact that a good many Japanese in America get married and the birth of children tends to keep up the total number

of Japanese there. But the influx of Japanese has been practically stopped and there is a gradual but steady reduction going on."

There is no real ground for apprehension, no real cause for alarm in the relations existing between the United States and Japan. I do not believe that Japan has, or ever had, any desire of warring with the United States. For economic reasons alone this appears to be true. Japan has not as yet recovered from her Russian war. Not one cent of the debt incurred in waging that conflict has yet been paid, and since that time the war operations at Kiao-chau have indebted the Government still further. Further acquisition of territory necessitating large expenditures to the Government in its upkeep, both in Manchuria and Korea as well as in Kiao-chau, have stripped the Japanese treasury.

During that period the United States has been Japan's best customer. We have purchased raw silk and tea to the extent annually of more than sixty million dollars, and in so doing have kept thousands of people in Japan in employment in this trade. If war was to be declared between the two countries, this trade would come to a standstill, the Government would lose this income. Great Britain could not be used as the market for the once American tea-trade, for England has cultivated a taste for the better class of teas, either Indian or Chinese. Nor would England take up the importation of Japanese raw silk dropped by America, because they have found the Chinese silk more stable.

But the real question existing between Japan and the United States, is the attitude of the two Governments towards China. On this point rests the only true apprehension for fear of a war. Count Okuma, and other Japanese statesmen, know that in the California immigration question there are good points to be stated for both sides, and they realize that time alone can settle the matter in the peaceful way they are desirous that it shall be settled. In the question of China, however, the situation is more serious.

THE JAPANESE QUESTION IN AMERICA.

Especially written for the Japanese-American News.

By Carlos K. McClatchy,
of The Sacramento Bee.

Unless improper issues and controversies are injected into the relations between the two countries, the United States and Japan should be partners and friends in a common development, the United States as a leader on this continent and Japan as the foremost power of the Orient.

On that ground, the relations between the two nations undoubtedly will be friendly and close. Americans admire Japan for her initiative and ability, unreservedly grant her a leadership in the affairs of the Orient, and cheerfully invite her co-operation in a joint commercial, intellectual and humanitarian progress of the Western World as distinguished from the European continent.

In that sphere, Americans have nothing but friendliness for the Japanese.

California was extremely partisan in favor of Japan during the Japanese-Russian war. At that time, all sympathy was with the nation of the Orient. There is as much latent friendship and common aims in the breasts of Americans today, only awaiting the removal of certain irritating differences to spring into a full blossom of common understanding and joint benefits.

But upon that difference, to grant to Japanese unrestricted immigration and citizenship, there can be no compromise, if I judge the temper and convictions of Americans rightly.

The United States never should give Japanese free immigration and citizenship, nor should Japan ask it. The extension of those privileges perhaps, for the moment, might establish a closer international friendship, but would be a certain breeder of trouble for the future.

In the past two or three years, California opinion of the Japanese has changed greatly. Where the first influx of Japanese in large numbers, with the consequent Orientalization of large areas of fruitful farms, engendered hostility toward all Japanese, closer acquaintance has led to the distinction between the Japanese as an individual and the Japanese in hordes.

The last two years, and especially the Exposition, has brought a wider appreciation of the Japanese individual as a scholarly, aggressive man of action and ambition. For that type, the student, the professional man, the scientist, the traveler, America extends a hearty welcome.

But against the admission of large numbers of Japanese, to become residents and citizens of this country, the American people should firmly stand. No comparison of the respective merits of the two races is intended. The plain fact that there are too many differences of various kinds means that throwing open the doors would insure a continual conflict and contest between the two races, which Californians especially are determined shall not arise.

Nor need there be any necessity for it. There is the whole Orient for Japanese extension and supremacy. The United States should have this continent unhindered.

For the Japanese individual there is the heartiest welcome to these shores. But there will be no reception for Japanese in large numbers for the colonization of California.

Americans ask no more in Japan, nor does the Empire grant more than the United States already gives. In fact, Japanese have many more privileges in this country than Americans in Japan.

Friendship and common action in working out joint progress is desired.

But neither country should intrude itself upon the domestic concerns of another by insisting that its citizens be welcomed in large numbers to precipitate the conflict of two essentially different races that is bound to breed nothing but trouble.

TREATY OBLIGATIONS.

By Hon. Elihu Root,

Ex-Secretary of State, ex-United States Senator.

These extracts are from an address on the treaty obligations of the United States with Japan (cited with the permission of the author) given at Washington before the American Society of International Law, on the 19th of April, 1907.

It is impossible that the human mind should be addressed to questions better worth its noblest efforts, offering a greater opportunity for usefulness in the exercise of its powers, or more full historical and contemporary interest, than in the field of international rights and duties. The change in the theory and practice of government, which has marked the century since the establishment of the American Union, has shifted the determination of great questions of domestic national policy from a few rulers in each country to the great body of the people, who render the ultimate decision under all modern constitutional governments. Coincident with that change the practice of diplomacy has ceased to be a mystery confined to a few learned men who strive to give effect to the wishes of personal rulers, and has become a representative function answering to the opinions and the will of the multitude of citizens, who themselves create the relations between the states and determine the issues of friendship and estrangement, of peace and war. Under the new system there are many dangers from which the old system was free. The rules and customs which the experience of centuries had shown to be essential to the maintenance of peace and good understanding between nations have little weight with the new popular masters of diplomacy; the precedents and agreements of opinion which have carried so great a part of the rights and duties of nations toward each other beyond the pale of discussion are but little understood. The education of public opinion, which should lead the sovereign people in each country to understand the definite limitations upon national rights and the full scope and responsibility of national duties, has only just begun. Information, understanding, leadership of opinion in these matters,

so vital to wise judgment and right action in international affairs, are much needed.

It is a pleasure to be able to say that never for a moment was there, as between the Government of the United States and the Government of Japan, the slightest departure from perfect good temper, mutual confidence, and kindly consideration; and that no sooner had the views and purposes of the Governments of the United States, the State of California, and the city of San Francisco been explained by each to the other than entire harmony and good understanding resulted, with a common desire to exercise the powers vested in each, for the common good of the whole country, of the state, and of the city.

In the distribution of powers under our composite system of government the people of San Francisco had three sets of interests committed to three different sets of officers—their special interest as citizens of the principal city and commercial port of the Pacific Coast represented by the city government of San Francisco; their interest in common with all the people of the State of California represented by the Governor and Legislature at Sacramento; and their interests in common with all the people of the United States represented by the National Government at Washington. Each one of these three different governmental agencies had authority to do certain things relating to the treatment of Japanese residents in San Francisco. These three interests could not be really in conflict; for the best interest of the whole country is always the true interests of every state and city, and the protection of the interests of every locality in the country is always the true interest of the nation. There was, however, a supposed or apparent clashing of interests, and, to do away with this, conference, communication, comparison of views, explanation of policy and purpose were necessary. Many thoughtless and some mischievous persons have spoken and written regarding these conferences and communications as if they were the parleying and compromise of enemies. On the contrary, they were an example of the way in which the public business ought always to be conducted; so that the different public officers respectively charged with the performance of duties affecting the same subject-matter may work together in furtherance of the same policy and with a common purpose for the good of the whole country and every part of the country. Such a concert of action with such a purpose was established by the

conferences and communications between the national authorities and the authorities of California and San Francisco which followed the passage of the Board of Education resolution.

There was one great and serious question underlying the whole subject which made all questions of construction and of scope and of effect of the treaty itself—all questions as to whether the claims of Japan were well founded or not; all questions as to whether the resolution of the school board was valid or not—seem temporary and comparatively unimportant. It was not a question of war with Japan. All the foolish talk about war was purely sensational and imaginative. There was never even friction between the two Governments. The question was, What state of feeling would be created between the great body of the people of the United States and the great body of the people of Japan as a result of the treatment given to the Japanese in this country?

What was to be the effect upon that proud sensitive, highly civilized people across the Pacific of the discourtesy, insult, imputations of inferiority and abuse aimed at them in the columns of American newspapers and from the platforms of American public meetings? What would be the effect upon our own people of the responses that natural resentment for such treatment would elicit from the Japanese?

The first article of the first treaty Japan ever made with a Western power provided:

“There shall be a perfect, permanent, and universal peace and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part, and the empire of Japan on the other part, and between their people respectively, without exception of persons or places.”

Under that treaty which bore the signature of Matthew Calbraith Perry, we introduced Japan to the world of Western civilization. We had always been proud of her wonderful development—proud of the genius of the race that in a single generation adapted an ancient feudal system of the Far East to the most advanced standards of modern Europe and America. The friendship between the two nations had been peculiar and close. Was the declaration of that treaty to be set aside? At Kurihama, in Japan, stands a monument to Commodore Perry, raised by the Japanese in grateful appreciation, upon the site where he

landed and opened negotiations for the treaty. Was that monument henceforth to represent dislike and resentment? Were the two peoples to face each other across the Pacific in future years with angry and resentful feelings? All this was inevitable if the process which seemed to have begun was to continue, and the Government of the United States looked with the greatest solicitude upon the possibility that the process might continue.

It is hard for democracy to learn the responsibilities of its power; but the people now, not governments, make friendship or dislike, sympathy or discord, peace or war, between nations. In this modern day, through the columns of the myriad press and messages flashing over countless wires, multitude calls to multitude across boundaries and oceans in courtesy or insult, in amity or in defiance. Foreign officers and ambassadors and ministers no longer keep or break the peace, but the conduct of each people toward every other. The people who permit themselves to treat the people are surely sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind, for a world of sullen and revengful hatred can never be a world of peace. Against such a feeling treaties are waste paper and diplomacy the empty routine of ideal form. The great question which overshadowed all discussion of the treaty of 1894 was the question: Are the people of the United States about to break friendship with the people of Japan? That question, I believe, has been happily answered in the negative.

LEST WE FORGET.

By John Foord,

It may sound rhetorical, but it may also turn out to be true that "when history shall have placed all the great political events of the nineteenth century in their proper perspective, none will bulk larger in the eyes of posterity than the appearance of Commodore Perry's fleet in Japanese waters". The obvious reason is that this event began a complete revolution in the relation between the West and the East by awakening to a consciousness of its power an Eastern nation which, for the first time in history, has shown itself able to assimilate in great measure the civilization of the West without surrendering its own, and thus to assert a claim to take rank on a footing of equality with the Great

Powers of the West in the arts both of peace and war. When, therefore, the Island Empire, whose seclusion for three centuries was broken in upon by the bearer of a letter from the President of the United States, became the defender of the principles and policy which this Government had deliberately adopted and steadfastly maintained in its efforts to conserve the commercial interests of its citizens in Eastern Asia, it was inevitable that the sympathy of the American people should be on its side. The fact was freely recognized that Japan had gone further than this country was prepared to go in submitting her case against Russia to the arbitrament of the sword. This she would hardly have done but for the lessons she had learned after the war with China in 1894—a war whose fruits she was not allowed to reap, although they were gathered in by Russia almost without an effort. It had become an accepted axiom of Japanese statesmanship that Korea was a dagger aimed at the heart of Japan, and it was sufficiently evident that no nation could regard with equanimity the prospect of an easily fortified peninsula, lying almost within stone throw of her shores, being absorbed by an aggressive military power.

Hence, in 1904, the world was called upon to contemplate one of the most remarkable situations in all history. The battle of human freedom which was won against the hosts of Persia at Marathon and Salamis was then being waged by a people of unmixed Asiatic blood against an Empire calling itself European, and claiming to be the champion of white men against the yellow races. This is surely a fact to be remembered by people who are frightened by the bogey of a regenerated Asia, equipped with the weapons of modern warfare but filled with the lust of conquest. We owe it to Japan that we have not today another Europe facing us, on the other side of the Pacific, garrisoned by hundreds of thousands of Chinese troops bearing modern arms and trained by European soldiers. With the defeat of Japan the dominion of Russia would have unquestionably been extended to the Yellow River, that of Germany would have been enlarged to meet the Yangtsze, that of France prolonged from Indo-China into Szechuan, leaving that of Great Britain to occupy the unclaimed space between. There could have been no stable balance of power between such forces, dividing among them, in the shape of spheres of influence and of sovereignty, a dismembered China. The

inevitable conflict for supremacy, sooner or later, would have ensued—a conflict envenomed, sanguinary, and destructive beyond all precedent—with only this certain issue, that the victor would dominate Asia, and that with this dominance would come the reduction of the United States to the rank of a secondary Power on the Pacific. From a standing menace, equally to the peace of the world and the future of the United States, Japan saved us in 1904. Have we so soon forgotten the magnificent prowess and the scrupulous honor of the country which performed that feat, as to listen with patience to brainless twaddle about the “yellow peril”, and reckless aspersions on the good faith of Nippon?—From “*America to Japan*,” G. P. Putnam’s Sons.

THE PACIFIC COAST PERIL.

By Francis Butler Loomis,
Former Assistant Secretary of State.

The campaign against the Japanese in California as it is carried on by professional agitators seems to be based upon misinformation and misunderstanding, some of which is real and some of which is wilfully feigned.

There can be no clear comprehension of the questions at issue between the Government of Japan and that of our own country unless certain fundamental facts with respect to Japan become a matter of common knowledge.

1. The Government of Japan earnestly desires peace with the United States and a continuance of the pleasant relations which have marked the intercourse between the two countries for upwards of fifty years.

2. The Japanese people have an historic and sentimental bias in favor of the United States.

3. Japan is not seeking to acquire the Philippines, and there is no reason to think that she wants them.

4. Japan does not want war. She earnestly desires peace with all notions.

5. Great changes have taken place in Japan within the last decade. The pronounced manifestations of radical thinking and unrest which have been visible in all parts of the civilized world have had their sympathetic responses in Japan. Opposition to the Government and to the established order is stronger and more militant today in Japan than it ever

was before and this condition has to be taken seriously into account. In short, the making of war or peace in the future, in Japan, may not lie wholly in the hands of the Government.

In 1908 I had several talks with Prince Katsura and with Prince Ito. The day before leaving Japan, where I had discharged a confidential diplomatic mission, Prince Katsura, who was then Prime Minister, sent for me. He discussed for two hours the future of Japan and the plans which were then forming for the development of that country in an industrial way. It was expected that what he told me would be informally communicated to the Government of the United States. Early in the following year, a fortnight before Mr. Taft was inaugurated, there was a recrudescence of the Japanese question in this country, and I put in the form of an interview the salient points of my talk with Prince Katsura. This was published at the instance of the President and of Mr. Knox, who was about to become Secretary of State. The article was given wide publicity by the Associated Press and had a tranquilizing effect, for Prince Katsura made it very plain that Japan had no further military ambitions, no desire for conquest, no design upon the Philippines. He said with sincere and convincing emphasis that the future of Japan must be an industrial one.

"We must make this island," he affirmed, "the great workshop and factory for the Orient, and try in a large measure to supply Oriental countries with manufactured goods. In the development of Korea, Formosa, and possibly some parts of Manchuria, we shall have all we want to do in the way of colonization and expansion. If we can well and wisely administer Korea and Formosa they will afford an outlet for practically all the Japanese who may wish to leave their native country. To bring about the upbuilding of Japan in an industrial sense and to develop Korea and Formosa will take all of our resources. We shall have neither time nor money for war. A certain military standard will have to be maintained for self-defense, but you will see that our expenditures in this direction will be reasonable and furnish no just cause for alarm or suspicion."

The policy outlined by Prince Katsura and approved by Prince Ito has since been substantially followed.

This country in its official intercourse with Japan has never had reason to doubt the good faith, the honesty, the

straightforwardness of that Government. This is an important point and should be borne in mind by all persons who are interested in the Japanese and their relations to the United States. There is no Government on earth more scrupulous in its dealings with this country than that of Japan. We have nothing to fear from Japan so far as its Government is concerned. If questions of an embarrassing nature arise between the two countries, they are of our own making. If there is an unfortunate situation on the Pacific Coast in respect to the Japanese, we are responsible for it, not the Japanese Government. With unwavering constancy and fidelity they have maintained "the gentlemen's agreement" by which they undertook to suppress the immigration of Japanese laborers to the United States. The inflowing stream of coolies from Japan has ceased. There are about 60,000 Japanese in California, and the number remains practically stationary. The Japanese who are domiciled in our Pacific Coast states are not today a menace to those commonwealths in an economic, a political, or a moral way. Last year I traveled from one end of California to the other and visited every Japanese settlement of consequence. There I found that the Japanese agriculturists were peaceful, law-abiding, industrious people, generally very poor, and, like thousands of other new-comers to this country, living with rigid economy. One may find Portuguese, Greeks, and Armenians in California living just as poorly. The Japanese laborers prosper because they work hard and spend little. Many of them do not speak English and are ignorant of our customs, manners, and laws.

Americans, especially thriftless ones, do not like Japanese for neighbors, and among those who have come to our country there are, of course, some who are dishonest, some who violate contracts, some who do not keep their word. These shortcomings are not peculiar to the Japanese, however, for I can say, from personal experience in California, that I have discovered similar weaknesses on the part of rather prosperous immigrants from the south of Europe.

On the Pacific Coast there has been an active propaganda of hate carried on against the Japanese. It is easy to play on the strings of national feeling and prejudice. Hundreds of good citizens of California believe, because they have heard the statement made over and over again, that the Japanese are growing to be a dangerous element in the population,

and that American institutions, liberties, morals, and business are gravely menaced by their presence.

Among my personal acquaintances I find some who do not like the Japanese, and others, the majority, who are very friendly toward them. The line of division between these two opposing opinions in California is plain; on one side, are those who do not know the Japanese thoroughly well; on the other side, those who know and understand them, and who, moreover, know something about Japan and the Japanese Government. People who think well of the Japanese are, as a rule, those who know them well.

The Japanese in California ask only to be let alone. The more fortunate men of the Japanese race, the more prosperous and enlightened, have raised a considerable sum of money and are conducting in an intelligent fashion an educational campaign the purpose of which is to instruct the ignorant Japanese workingman in American ideas, manners, and ways of living, so that misunderstandings, the most frequent cause of conflict between races, may be removed. The educated Japanese in California, and there are many of them, are making great and constant efforts to improve the less fortunate of their fellow countrymen and to convert them into thoroughly desirable residents. The Japanese have done a great work in this direction. Indeed, they have done more than their share in the effort to live comfortably and pleasantly with the other people of California. If the Japanese were let alone, or were given the ballot and citizenship, the whole question would disappear. If the Japanese had the right to vote in California there would no longer be a Japanese question, as it is now understood. The politicians would not only cease to harry them, but would indeed strive to curry favor with them.

We are dealing with the Japanese as they are today. There is no question of unrestricted or unlimited immigration, consequently no present danger of an Oriental invasion.

After a careful personal survey of the situation I think one is justified in contending that decency and fair dealing and regard for justice and international good faith require that we should give the Japanese in this country the same treatment we give to other immigrants and the same treatment we expect the Japanese Government to accord our citizens who may wish to settle in Japan. Irritating and humiliating discriminations toward the Japanese should

cease. Let us deal honestly with the question. The Japanese are not going to overturn California, nor are they going to get an undue share of business. To the fruits of their industry, patience, self-denial, and frugality they are entitled.

Let us ask our Western friends to admit all this in reference to the Japanese and at the same time try to understand and value their good qualities instead of forever complaining about their bad ones, which are not, by the way, exclusively Japanese at all. In the matter of immorality, commercial dishonesty, and general bad conduct our own countrymen should not be the first to cast a stone. The assailants of the Japanese in this country talk as if these people from the Orient were the sole possessors of all the unworthy tendencies, instincts, and habits in the United States. As a matter of fact they are no better or worse than people of the same class in most other countries.

The Japanese question on the Pacific Coast has settled itself if the immigration remains strictly limited as it now is, and if our own people will give no further attention to it unless they have some urgent and important reason for so doing. The Japanese are few in number. They attend to their own affairs and want to be let alone. If they are let alone for a few years, it will be forgotten that they were ever considered a problem. If they are to be threatened and made victims of political parties and have to face continually the fear of unfair and humiliating legislation, then difficulties may arise which will not be merely local in character. A state of feeling may be engendered in Japan which the Government of that country cannot cope with, and which may develop into a situation of grave menace for this whole nation.

The peril of the situation on the Pacific Coast lies not in the fact that there are some thousands of well disposed Japanese trying to live there lawfully and in peace, but in the disposition of selfishly interested persons of other races to incite racial and economic prejudice against the Japanese.—*From "America to Japan," G. P. Putnam's Sons.*

THE JAPANESE QUESTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Especially written for the Japanese-American News.

By Wm. T. Bonsor,
Secretary Anti-Jap Laundry League
of San Francisco.

This is a problem which at the present time affects primarily the Pacific Coast and the Hawaiian Islands as the Japanese population in the United States is practically confined to these localities. The issues involved are therefore misunderstood by many as they are necessarily unfamiliar with the resultant conditions of Japanese immigration and competition.

The relations between the two countries are friendly and will continue friendly even though the Americans affected by Japanese aggression may strive and eventually win their objective—which in time to come will be favorably appreciated by all concerned as to the best interests of both the Japanese and American people.

Much can be said on this question. Men have written volumes. A brief statement can only touch upon it. It is said by some that the "Gentlemen's Agreement" will solve the question. If we take into consideration the Japanese immigration now permissible, including exempt classes, "Picture Brides," etc., added to a consideration of the large percentage of Japanese births in this country, it can be easily seen that the future Japanese population of the above mentioned localities will run into enormous figures. In other words, statistical facts and figures prove that California's future is seriously threatened by a similar condition as is now existing in the Hawaiian Islands. There, American labor and industry is now fighting, backed to the wall, against industrial and business annihilation.

Why cannot Japanese and Americans intermingle in the various ramifications of life profitably and peaceably? Racial differences will not permit. And this is no fault of the Japanese. It is simply History repeating. It is contended by some that social and industrial assimilation is possible. Experience in this regard in the Hawaiian Islands and the Pacific Slope has proven otherwise. In theory amalgamation is sometimes advanced as possible. Experience refuses to concur in the theory. Many who advocate

assimilation as possible, reject amalgamation as possible. However, History and experience teach us that assimilation is impossible whenever amalgamation is impossible.

The economic effects of Japanese immigration and competition are apparent to the naked eye. The Japanese, because of their training, work for less and live with less than Americans. To successfully compete with American business and labor they continue to so work and live. The result is that the Japanese have invaded and supplanted Americans in many walks of life, thereby assisting in that degree in forcing upon the American workers—unemployment.

Such, in brief, is the situation. Of course many efforts to solve the question are being made by well-intended forces and otherwise, unable to grasp the true significance of the situation. Japanese in Japan would not welcome industrial competition by American workers with a system tending to undermine established conditions. They would not welcome American immigration and competition for the reasons mentioned herein as well as other reasons. Such a position is taken by Americans in the United States. The situation does not exist interchangeable in practice because Japan happens not to afford industrial opportunity for American workers as does the United States for Japanese workers. However, human nature is quite the same the world over and did an interchangeable situation exist the Japanese would take the identical position now taken by Americans and would be justified in so doing.

Positive Asiatic Exclusion Legislation and strict enforcement of same coupled with a mutual increasing realization of the fact that the two races cannot successfully intermingle and progress, will in a large degree tend to solve the unfortunate state of affairs now existing, for the eventual welfare and happiness of both the Japanese and American people.

AMERICA AND RACE PROBLEMS.

By The Rev. C. F. Aked, D. D., LL. D.

We have more than one race problem upon our hands, and Japan ought to sympathize with us. We have not yet shown ourselves able to cope successfully with the race issues already presented to us. We have the Negro question. The curse of slavery is not wholly blotted out. Some effects remain. In the providence of God it has been ordained that no man can put a chain round his brother's ankle without finding sooner or later the other end of the chain round his own neck. Negro slavery was not originally sought by the American people. It was forced upon the Southland. Later the South acquiesced in its existence and sought to maintain it. South and North have made, are making, will continue to make, heroic and splendid efforts to meet in a spirit of righteousness all the difficulties which the past has handed down to the present. But there it is; the adjustment is not yet made. There are problems to solve; there are questions to answer; there are difficulties to be met; there are wrongs to put right. And we may be forgiven if we say that we do not want another race question thrust upon us. I am not suggesting that there is no difference between Africans brought here as slaves and Asiatics coming here as free immigrants. There is a difference. But the fact remains that the one constitutes for us a difficulty great enough. We do not want another.

Yet we have another. We have many others. There are masses of unassimilated foreigners amongst us, and these, unless we are both wise and lucky, may lower the standard of American living.

Streams of immigrant blood have brought health and wealth to the American body politic. Streams of immigrant blood have brought disease and poverty as well. Immigration is both an asset and a menace. All the world knows with what incredible success America does receive the millions from the Old World, how she makes Americans of them, and how they become a part of—an integral and infinitely valuable part of—the American stock. Yet we in America know that the success is not complete. The task is so gigantic that it may strain all American resources of nerve and brain, American institutions, and the American love of liberty. Put it at the best, assuring ourselves as we well may that America is not going to fail

in this task of assimilating the millions from the Old World, it is at least clear that America has just about as much as she can do. It is admitted that the task which we have already set ourselves is gigantic; it is not for the good of the human race that we should deliberately make it impossible; that American institutions and American civilization should be overwhelmed and destroyed. With this view, I repeat, Japan must sympathize. What is called the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, by which Japan undertakes to prohibit the emigration of laborers from her country to American shores, is her pledge of sensible and friendly understanding.

It is probable that the time has come for the United States to take a wide view, comprehensive, statesmanlike, a new view of all these questions of immigration and of all questions of policy related to immigration, actual or possible. It is probable that the time has come when America might substitute a world-view and an American policy for local and temporary expedients. It should not be impossible to meet every difficulty with a policy satisfactory to the best mind of America, from the mind represented by the labor union to that represented by the patriot and the cosmopolitan with world-wide, universal sympathies. And this policy—whatever else it may do or fail to do—while safeguarding the people of the United States from the added difficulties of another "race question", should without doubt lift the ban of discrimination which now affronts the Japanese, offer to them the rights and privileges it offers to the people of other nations, and impose no restrictions which it does not impose upon the people of Great Britain or Germany, of Italy, or Russia.

Meanwhile let this be our loyal and loving message to Japan:

We recognize your splendid ability, your marvelous and mighty achievements. Your valor proved on land and sea attests a race of heroes. Your victories in the arts of civilization, in literature, in commerce, in the pursuits of peace, reveal your genius.

We condemn insolent assertions of race superiority. We refuse to discuss questions of superiority and inferiority, of higher and lower. God has made of one blood every nation to dwell on all the face of the earth. You with us are the Father's children.

We recognize your mission as harmonizer of East and

West. You have to interpret the one to the other. We have taken our law from Rome, our art from Greece, our religion from the Jew. The English have been the colonizers. God has called America to teach liberty to mankind. And it may be that our Father in heaven has called Japan to harmonize eastern and western civilization to the end of the unification of the world.

We sincerely desire your friendship. Our professions are not mere words. We accept your professions of friendship at their face value. We believe you mean what you say. We mean what we say. We wish to live in amity with you. We wish to strive with you only in the healthy rivalries of peace and to be friends with you on land and sea.

We condemn the insulting policies of shortsighted and selfish politicians amongst us. We have ourselves no part in them. We believe that they are mistaken where they are not vicious and vicious where they are not mistaken.

We declare that it is our intention to oppose these policies everywhere, and to do all that lies in our power to defeat them. We have good reason at the present moment for believing that in California a check has been placed upon these sinister movements and that you are likely to hear less of them in the coming days. We have reason for saying that a better spirit is obtaining and wiser counsel prevailing.

And we publicly pledge ourselves, now and in the coming years, to seek to influence our fellow citizens, the men and women of the United States, to the end that all racial antagonism shall be done away, and that America at least shall live as befits a people who proclaim the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

The Japanese Conquest of the Domestic Occupations and Some of the Remedies That Might Be Applied.

[Published by order of the Asiatic Exclusion League, December, 1909.]

"Much prominence was given at the 1909 session of the California Legislature to the danger of permitting aliens to acquire the fertile lands of the 'Great Valley' and elsewhere throughout the State; but little, if any, mention was made of the inroads made by the Japanese upon the domestic occupations—a competition keener and far more dangerous to the American people, both sociologically and economically than the occupation and tilling of the soil.

"Chief among the domestic occupations are laundry workers, house servants, waiters and waitresses and garment workers.* In all of these, excepting waiters, women and girls constitute a large majority.

"In 1900 the house servants, excluding those classified as housekeepers and stewards, numbered 1,560,721, of whom 1,283,763 were women. The laundry workers numbered 385,965, of whom 335,282 were women. The garment workers—and this classification includes cap makers, tailors and tailoresses, shirt makers and makers of ladies' underwear and seamstresses of all description—numbered 907,032, of whom 704,969 were women. In this connection it must be understood that no dividing line can be drawn between unionist and non-unionist, between the young lady who works in the Metropolitan Steam Laundry and the poor widow who earns a scant and precarious living for herself and children at the wash-tub. Each class is equally threatened by the unequal competition of Japanese.

"'The injury of one is the concern of all,' is the motto of the Knights of Labor, and I believe that the allied laundry interests of California, represented by the Anti-Japanese Laundry League, are the pioneers among the workers of California to recognize its wisdom and to realize that only by concentrated effort, by each workingman constituting himself his brother's keeper, can any lasting results be obtained. It is a pleasure to be able to say, at this time, so far as is learned from press reports and conversations with laundry workers and employers, that their efforts toward the elimination of Japanese and Japanese competition—and preventing its increase—is meeting with a fair measure of success.

"It must not be taken for granted, however, that success in San Francisco, or any other city or cities, will solve the problem before us. The Asiatic Exclusion League, the Anti-Jap Laundry League and the Junior Order of American Mechanics' Exclusion Committee, are but so many torches to light the way. Many of our people need educating, and some of our legislators also need education very badly. The manner in which we were turned down at the last session of the Legislature should teach us to ignore party politics and elect those only in whom we can place implicit confidence.

"For a further illustration of Asiatic competition in domestic occupations, it is necessary to again quote a few figures:

"In 1900, taking the Census Report as authority, there were in the United States 93,000 Chinese and 89,000 Japanese. Of the Chinese 54,000, or 61.7 per cent, were employed in the domestic occupations, no less than 25,358 of them being laundry workers, and 12,772 servants and waiters. The Japanese in domestic occupations numbered 14,736, of whom only 115 were laundry workers, and 3,111 servants. The others were employed as

* Classified arbitrarily with domestic occupations because of the great number of women and girls suffering from Asiatic competition. Textile workers, total, 471,326; women, 242,905.

cooks, etc. It may be well to state that cooks, dishwashers, porters, barbers and bartenders are included in the classification under consideration, the value of which will be called to your attention later on.

"At the present time, according to the best authority—the U. S. Treasury Department Reports—there are 300,000 Chinese in the United States, including Hawaii and Alaska, and the Japanese approximate 200,000, an increase in the aggregate, since 1900, of 300 per cent; and while it is true that the Chinese have decreased in California, on the other hand the Japanese increased over 640 per cent in eight years. Their increase in the laundry business in California alone is over 1600 per cent, there being 2,000 in this State at the present time against 115 in the United States and Hawaii in 1900.

"Keen as is the competition of the Japanese in the laundry business, there is another branch of the domestic group of occupations which feels the pinch as acutely, and perhaps more so, because of lack of organization, viz., the house servant.

"In 1905, the San Francisco Chronicle, upon the authority of the State Labor Commissioner, declared that 5,000 white girls had been deprived of employment because of the incursions of these brown men. To-day that number can be doubled in the cities bordering San Francisco Bay, and if we take into consideration Sacramento, Los Angeles and other important towns, 15,000 Japanese would not be an exaggerated estimate. This is a frightful state of affairs to contemplate and it seems almost hopeless to look for a remedy; yet one must be found because we dare not let American homes become the breeding places for Asiatic vices.

"Before suggesting a remedy for the evils depicted, it is necessary to call attention to one of the greatest drawbacks to the successful prosecution of the work in which the Anti-Japanese forces are engaged. It is not a pleasant task, neither is the cauterization of a malignant ulcer, yet it is necessary for the healing of the sore.

"Taking San Francisco as an illustration, we find that while every branch of domestic occupation is overrun with Japs, only one of them, the laundry workers, has done anything to conform to the old proverb, 'God helps those who help themselves.' The house servants are not organized, and therefore need not be considered, but the cooks, barbers, bartenders, waiters and waitresses, and garment workers each have strong unions, but none of them have enlisted in the fight for self protection. The cigarmakers, though classed as skilled laborers, may be included in this indictment. Bartenders work with Jap lunch cooks and porters, cooks with Jap dishwashers, waiters with Jap swabbers and cleaners, and in places whose laundry is done by Japanese establishments; while barbers work with Jap boot-blacks who call themselves Kanakas and Filipinos.

"This is the weak part of our movement. There is a lack of sincerity among those who howl the most over lost employment. Can it be true that selfishness is the chief characteristic of the people who withhold assistance to the movement, or is it something that can be called a harsher name?

"The cigarmakers complain because union men do not always purchase union-made cigars. What are they doing in the fight against Asiatics? Every dry goods store in San Francisco—and probably in California—carries Chinese and Japanese manufactured goods; and what are the garment workers doing? And so it is with the majority of the trades. It is to be hoped that the example of the laundry workers will be followed by those organizations I have so harshly, but without malice, criticized.

"The disease has been diagnosed and the sore sports laid bare; what is the remedy? The proceedings of the Exclusion League for December, 1908, contains a communication from Machinists Union No. 68 concerning the subject under discussion, concluding with the following recommendation:

"The plain people should refuse, absolutely and unequivocally, to purchase anything from a Japanese, or any article of Japanese manufacture sold

by a white person; and should also refuse to patronize any person who employs Japanese in preference to persons of the Caucasian race.'

"This plan of campaign was followed with remarkable success during the Revolutionary War, and those who ostracized the adherents of the English King and articles of English manufacture, were called patriots. Shall it be said by future historians that Americans were more tender of the feelings of Japanese than they were of the well-being of people of their own race and blood?

"It is a well-known fact that in the prosecution of all great undertakings many diverse methods are used, though in most instances they are interdependent upon each other. In the cause in which we are engaged—the elimination of Asiatics, particularly Japanese, from our social, political, industrial and economic life—there are four lines of attack, which may be used singly, in combination or as a whole. First, the conservative, or gradual approach. Second, the moderate or conciliatory method. Third, the drastic or coercive. Fourth, the method exemplified by the motto of diplomacy, 'The end justifies the means,' or the sacrifice of everything we hold dear, providing the goal toward which we look is possible of attainment.

"Let us analyze each of these methods and judge which will give the best results with the least amount of labor and within the shortest time. The conservative plan is the one followed by the Asiatic Exclusion League in an effort to obtain relief by legislation. For this purpose money has been spent freely, some people say unnecessarily, with the result that Japanese immigration for the fiscal year 1909 was 900.25 per cent less than in 1907. It may not be out of place to mention in regard to the campaign for an Exclusion law that one of the great National conventions met and adjourned without the word 'Asiatic' being mentioned. It is true that the State convention of that party inserted an anti-Asiatic plank in its platform, and it is just as true that most of the legislators elected upon that platform repudiated utterly their implied pledges. The other great party, though it had a strong anti-Asiatic plank in its National platform, showed its insincerity even before the convention adjourned. A delegate of world-wide reputation was hissed and jeered and barely escaped personal violence because he advocated the upbuilding of a great navy, without which a Japanese Exclusion Law could not be maintained. Moreover, the party in power has surrendered into the hands of an alien and pagan government the right to say how many of its subjects and what classes shall emigrate to the United States. Americans can no longer control their own domestic affairs because of the threatened displeasure of Japan. This being the case, the conservative method of action may be dismissed as being too tame for the accomplishment of lasting results.

"The moderate method is the one adopted by the Anti-Japanese Laundry League in its fight to retain the work taken from them by the Japanese. Summed up in two words, it means a campaign of persuasion and remonstrance. To this no criticism can be offered because of the result obtained. This moderate method, however, if carried out to its logical conclusion, will merge into the third plan of action.

"The radical drastic or coercive method is one requiring the most thoughtful consideration, as our National legislators express themselves, before being brought into active operation. A boomerang is a deadly weapon, but it sometimes inflicts an injury upon the one that hurls it. The wisdom and applicability of this method was clearly set forth by a Japanese in conversation with a gentleman who was conducting an investigation of their competition. Said the Jap:

"If the Americans did not patronize us we could not live here; we would have to go away. You may refuse to hire or purchase from us; you may even pass a law excluding us, but you cannot keep out the goods that we will make in Japan and send to you.'

"This Jap's logic is good, but he forgets one very vital point; if there

is no demand for Japanese manufactured goods, our merchants would not import them or carry them in stock when imported by Japanese merchants. I know, and you know, that if we were to cease patronizing Chinese and Japanese laundries and cobbler shops, saloons, restaurants, barber shops and other establishments where Asiatics are employed, there would be quite a little revolution.

"Does not this view indicate the advisability of applying the drastic remedy? A concentration of effort upon this one subject—refusal to patronize a Jap or purchase any of his products. Then let us go a step further and withdraw our patronage from those who employ them in any capacity. Mind you, I am not advocating a boycott which the Federal Courts in Washington have declared unlawful. I am too good a citizen for that. But I tell you that all the restraining orders and contempt proceedings of all the judges, from the infamous Pontius Pilate to the latest injunction peddler, cannot make us spend one cent with a person or firm which we do not care to patronize. Practice this sort of exclusion for a few months, and we shall see the Japs trekking their way across the Rocky mountains to educate our Eastern brothers.

"There, then, is your remedy when persuasion and remonstrance fails. Used in conjunction with a demand for a remedial legislation, both State and Federal, it would carry immense weight.

"The fact is, our actions are so inconsistent with our talk that we are not believed to be in earnest. We constantly fail in our duty to each other, and forget the motto that is the very foundation stone of trade unionism: 'The injury of one is the concern of all.' Is there any good cause why I should patronize a man who hires a Jap in preference to a white man? Because he is a good fellow or belongs to the same lodge does not lessen his error. If the wife of a high-priced merchant hires a Jap to clean windows or scrub floors, should she object to a Jap taking her husband's job? Why should any of our wives or daughters buy shirtwaists and other garments made by Chinese and Japanese when goods made by white women can be obtained? These are questions that are being asked every day, and they must be answered satisfactorily to our own consciences before we can honestly make demands upon our fellow citizens.

"The last remedy is the one advocated by a certain political element that claims that the Japs should be permitted to come in unrestricted numbers, to employ them in preference to our own people, to buy from them and starve the business men of our own race and color into servile submission and a state of political unrest. What would be the result of this monstrous program? It is true that the business men would be brought to time, but at what a sacrifice. Our children would be stunted in growth through want of nourishing food, our wives would grow haggard with worry and hunger, and we ourselves would watch each other like hungry wolves in fear that one would overreach the other in search of employment and food. Then indeed would our struggle assume a different aspect than now. Violence and bloodshed would be its prevailing features. The Japs would be in possession of all the jobs, living on the fat of the land, and we would witness the strong arm of the Government reaching out to protect an alien and pagan race, while white citizens, matured under the influence of our Western civilization, would have no remedy under the law but to pray and starve.

"Without indicating a preference for any of the remedies proposed, it must be admitted by all, if we are to have four years more of Congressional indifference, while we consume our time in letter writing and passing resolutions which no one reads, the sooner some radical plan is adopted and put in operation the better it will be for the State of California and its citizens."



JAPANESE EXCLUSION.

SPEECH

OF

HON. E. ^{veris}A. HAYES,

OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, March 13, 1906.

WASHINGTON.

1906.

SPEECH
OF
HON. E. A. HAYES.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 16472) making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, and for other purposes—

Mr. HAYES said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Last week during the discussion of the Indian appropriation bill the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. COOPER], in a few well-chosen remarks, pointed out to the committee the great industrial menace that the Japanese are to be in the near future to this country. Those remarks interested me greatly. Probably no part of the United States is more conscious of the existence of that menace than are the people of the Pacific coast. They realize fully that whether they stay at home and devote their energies to production there or whether they immigrate to this country and devote their energies to production here the Japanese are bound to be a great menace; but the people of California, for whom I undertake to speak, if they are to meet that menace, prefer to meet it on the soil of Japan rather than on our own soil.

In obedience to a popular demand there were introduced in this House early in the session two bills—one by Mr. McKINLAY, of the Second district of California, and one by myself—having for their object the extension of the provisions of the Chinese-exclusion acts to embrace the Japanese and Koreans. I might say incidentally that the principle embodied in these bills has the unanimous approval of the delegation from the State of California. I think I speak conservatively when I say that these bills voice the desire of at least 95 per cent of the people of my district, if not 95 per cent of all the people of the State of California.

I will not take the time of this House further to refer to these bills. They simply, in terms, extend the provisions of the Chinese-exclusion acts to embrace the Japanese and Koreans.

In discussing at this time the question of the exclusion of certain classes of the Japanese from our shores, and particularly those of the cooly class, I am undertaking a not altogether pleasant duty. All men admire courage. The valorous achievements of any nation have in all ages challenged the admiration of the world. And when a weaker nation, making up for its lack of numbers by its energy, courage, and discipline, emerges from a contest with a nation numerically much stronger with the triumphant success which has recently attended the arms of Japan in its contest with Russia, we, in common with the rest of the world, shout our bravos to the plucky little island nation. In what I shall say upon this question I wish not to be understood as detracting in the least from the credit due the Japanese people for what in the past half century they have accomplished

in war and peace. Their achievements, which are not small, are the common heritage of mankind, and for that reason I glory in them. I would not that the United States should put one obstacle in the way of the progress of our sister nation. Rather I would help her in her upward and onward march all that we can without injury to ourselves.

The question raised by the bill to which I have referred is in no sense an international one. It is purely local in character. The right of every nation to regulate without interference the coming of aliens into its territory has been universally recognized in every age of the world's history. It is a right that we as a nation have claimed and exercised in the past and still claim and exercise. The question of Japanese exclusion should therefore be settled not as a question of international law, but solely as a question of domestic policy. Is it better for this nation that the Japanese people should be allowed to come and settle among us as we allow aliens of the Caucasian race to come, or is it better for the whole people of our country that they should be wholly or partly excluded? This question answered and the whole matter should be regarded as settled.

And this question can not be wisely answered by simply pointing to the great achievements of the Japanese people in war. Fighting qualities are not the only—not even the chief—elements necessary to be considered in this connection. The main considerations are these: What stamp of civilization will these people bring to us when they come to our shores? What elements of personal character have they that if stamped somewhat upon our already composite national character would add elements of strength not now possessed by us? What elements that would tend to weaken or corrupt the national life? Would their coming tend to threaten our institutions or destroy the civilization founded upon intelligence, morality, equality, and justice that we are trying with some success to build up here? I believe that these are some of the questions that we should ask and answer; these are the principal considerations that should determine our attitude toward this question.

The Japanese have made such strides and have been outwardly so transformed in the past fifty years that those of our fellow-citizens who only know them from a distance are apt to be filled with unmixed admiration. A personal contact close enough and long enough to pierce the outside veneer gives one an entirely different impression, however. A close acquaintance shows one that unblushing lying is so universal among the Japanese as to be one of the leading national traits; that commercial honor, even among her commercial classes, is so rare as to be only the exception that proves the reverse rule, and that the vast majority of the Japanese people do not understand the meaning of the word "morality," but are given up to practice of licentiousness more generally than any nation in the world justly making any pretense to civilization. I am told by those who have lived in Japan and understand its language that there is no word in Japanese corresponding to "sin," because there is in the ordinary Japanese mind no conception of its meaning. There is no word corresponding to our word "home," because there is nothing in the Japanese domestic life corresponding to the home as we know it. "The Japanese language has no term for 'privacy.' They lack the term and the clear idea because they lack the practice."

As showing the Japanese as we have him in California, let me quote a few eminent authorities in support of what I have said and shall say of some of his leading characteristics.

Prof. James A. B. Scherer, now president of Newberry College, South Carolina, and for many years a teacher in the Government schools of Japan, says:

The Japanese have changed in outward appearance so thoroughly that many have been deceived into believing the change complete, and that a nation can be really born in a day. * * * Certainly there has been no inner transformation commensurate with the outward. Japan has a renaissance, but not a reformation. Over the hot and still active fires of traditional sentiment, ethic emotions, and hereditary customs a thin crust of modern western civilization has been laid. The crust is the appearance; the unassuaged but concealed interior fires are the dominant reality. Deceived travelers, sometimes with the best of intentions, confuse manners with morals, outward refinement with religion, and civilization with Christian conduct. Because they see outward polish they argue to a change of heart. * * * There could be no greater mistake.

And again:

Let us, for the present, pass by the fact that commercial integrity is almost unknown among the majority of Japanese merchants; that it is a rare thing for native dealers to keep their contracts, and go on to the deeper things of the heart and life.

Sidney L. Gulick, in the *Evolution of Japan*, published in 1903, says:

The distressing state of the family life may also be gathered from the large numbers of public and secret prostitutes that are to be found in all the large cities and the singing girls in nearly every town. According to popular opinion their number is rapidly increasing.

And again:

Every occidental remarks on the untruthfulness of the Japanese. Lies are told without the slightest apparent compunction.

And again:

Public as well as secret prostitution has enormously increased during the last thirty or forty years. * * * Although the sale of daughters for immoral purposes is theoretically illegal, yet, in fact, it is of frequent occurrence.

A distinguished writer in the *Contemporary Review* for May, 1905, says:

The Japanese traders, as a class, have, according to the universal verdict of those who deal with them, to this day the unsavory reputation of absolute unreliability in the fulfillment of any obligation; and having failed to acquire in their commercial transactions even the most elementary principles of common honesty.

Concubinage is common in Japan and is quite generally limited only by the extent of one's financial ability. It has of late been rapidly increasing, although now not recognized by law. Since the law takes no notice of it, the public statistics do not show it.

I am aware that friends of Japan have recently attempted to show by Japanese public statistics that these things are not true, and some of her statesmen indignantly deny that Japan is as bad as she has been painted. But these statistics are valueless for this purpose, because of the way they are gathered. Personal contact with Japanese, as well as reports made to me by recent visitors to Japan, some of them Members of this House who visited Japan last summer, make me know that prodigious lying, commercial dishonesty, and awful licentiousness are still pretty general Japanese characteristics. I am aware that some of Japan's noblest patriots and most distinguished citizens are

openly fighting these great national evils, but thus far apparently without result.

The Yoshiwara still exists in Tokyo, and its inmates are increasing rather than diminishing. This is a colony of tens of thousands of women, most of them sold into this slavery for a term of years by their parents, with its streets and avenues, fountains, trees, and flowers. The Yoshiwara is only a type of some half dozen other colonies in Tokyo and of others in the other cities of Japan. These women are by no means considered as totally lost and abandoned, but are visited quite freely by the members of their families, including women and children, apparently without much thought of moral contamination or disgrace. Everywhere—upon the streets, in the bazaars, and in the hotels—one meets licentious suggestions, even direct invitations, and often from boys and girls of quite tender years. The most deplorable thing about this awful licentiousness is that it seems not to be condemned by public opinion or the Japanese religions. Phallus worship, with its licentious rites was, until recently, very common in Japan.

I know that there are thoroughly honest and moral Japanese people, with high and pure ideals, but at present they are but a small minority of the Japanese nation. I also know that very, very few of this small minority come to the United States. In California we are getting the poorest and lowest of the Japanese population—mostly the cool class of laborers. They bring with them, of course, their habits of thought and life. These laborers are unreliable. They will generally leave the employer without a moment's notice and without any care for the interests of the latter whenever they find it to their own interest to do so.

Mr. Chairman, the civilization and personal characteristics that I have only briefly hinted at are what thousands of Japanese are yearly bringing to the Pacific coast. I have said so much to show that their civilization is distinctively oriental. We are already sensibly feeling in California their contaminating influence. And yet when some of us raise our voices in warning and protest, because we see the impending danger to our State and its people of the large and constantly increasing flow of these people to our shores, there are those who cry "race fanatic," who aver that we are narrow, and who insist that the menace which we see looming large upon our western horizon is only a figment of a diseased imagination. It has been said to me on the floor of this House that no one was objecting to the coming of the Japanese except a few labor agitators and perhaps the labor unions of the Pacific coast. I find these sentiments quite general here in the East and even upon this floor.

Mr. Chairman, if I may be allowed a personal statement, I wish to say that while it is my duty and pleasure to represent upon this floor the laboring men of my district, I speak also as an employer of labor; I speak as one striving honestly to represent all the varied interests of the State which I have the honor in part to represent upon the floor of this House. I appeal to the membership of this House to listen and ponder the few facts that I am bringing to their attention, and to hear the cry that our people are sending up for protection from a most real and present impending danger to their moral and material welfare.

Let us now look for a moment at the present commercial and industrial condition of the Japanese people, and consider the probable effect in the immediate future of these conditions upon their immigration to the United States.

The Japanese Empire embraces 147,655 square miles of territory. Of this small territory, less than the State of California, only 15.7 per cent is arable land, including plains and pasture lands. Excluding plains and pasture land, only 12.9 per cent, or 19,150 square miles, is actually arable, the balance being mountains. And yet in this small compass, according to the census of 1899, 44,260,000 Japanese live. In the light of these facts one can understand why the Japanese would fight a great nation in order to get room in which to expand.

These are some of the wages, expressed in our money, paid for the different kinds of labor in Japan in 1904, according to the report of the Japanese commissioners to the St. Louis Exposition:

Farm laborers (average), 16 cents per day.
 Laborers in silk culture (average), 16½ cents per day.
 Operatives for reeling silk (average), 10 cents per day.
 Farm laborers, by the year, male, \$16.
 Farm laborers, by the year, female, \$8.50.
 Metal miners (average), 13½ cents per day.
 Coal miners (average), 12 cents per day.
 Timbermen (average), 11 cents per day.
 Mill hands (average), 8½ cents per day.
 Smelterers (average), 10 cents per day.
 Factory employees, male, 15 cents per day.
 Factory employees, female, 10 cents per day.
 Tobacco factory employees, male, 22½ cents per day.
 Tobacco factory employees, female, 10 cents per day.
 Machine shops, 27½ cents per day.
 Carpenters and plasterers, 29½ cents per day.
 Stone masons, 33½ cents per day.
 Shoemakers, 25 cents per day.
 Tailors, Japanese clothes, 22½ cents per day.
 Tailors, foreign clothes, 25 cents per day.
 Skilled artisans, 50 cents per day.

Mr. FASSETT. Is that in gold?

Mr. HAYES. That is in our money.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. Do those figures include the feeding of these Japanese?

Mr. HAYES. They do not include feeding them.

Mr. GROSVENOR. The wages for the farm laborers do?

Mr. HAYES. They probably do, but not the others.

With the crowded condition of Japan and the low wages prevailing there, is it any wonder that her laboring people are coming to our shores in increasing numbers to take advantage of the great opportunity which this country in its present state of prosperity offers to them? They are now landing at the port of San Francisco at the rate of about 1,000 per month. This, you may say, is not very serious. But every one of these thousand monthly immigrants takes a job that would otherwise be given to a white man, and the matter becomes even more serious when you consider the rapid increase in this immigration in the past six years. Up to 1900 but few Japanese had come to this country. In that year 12,635 came, and since 1900, 76,737 Japanese have landed in this country, and this has come about without any artificial stimulant.

The fear of what will undoubtedly happen when the immigration agent begins to put in his work, as he is doing it in southern Europe, is filling the mind of the people of the Pacific coast with apprehension. The thought of what will happen when

some of the big Chinese companies now supplying different parts of the world with Chinese coolies awake to the possibilities in the shipping of Japanese coolies to this country is making the people of all classes in California desire that something be done to provide against this certain danger.

The following news item gives some idea of what is taking place in Hawaii at this time, and the same system is sure to be worked on a larger scale in the United States unless our people are aroused to the danger and take steps to prevent it:

JAPANESE POUR INTO HAWAII.
[Special cable to the Call.]

HONOLULU, February 21, 1903.

There is every reason to believe that the immigration laws are being violated in a wholesale fashion at this port. The plantations have been importing Japanese laborers in great numbers. Two thousand have been brought to the islands already this year, and 500 more are due to-morrow on the steamship *Hongkong Maru*, from Japan. From here the laborers are taken by small steamships direct to the plantations in various parts of the islands. It is believed that contagious diseases have by this means been introduced into the Territory.

At a conference to-day Acting Governor Atkinson denounced the methods of the planters. He demanded that they give land in fee simple to European immigrants, according to the views of President Roosevelt. The Washington Government gives authority to a Territorial board to promote immigration, but the planters have worked independently, securing their laborers through Japanese companies.

But what of Korea and Manchuria? Will they not be more enticing to Japanese emigrants now than the United States? No. Manchuria is already more thickly populated than the Pacific coast of the United States, and the population of Korea is nine times as dense as that of California. Besides, the same low wages await the Japanese emigrant to these countries as prevail in Japan and all the oriental nations. Korea and Manchuria may offer tempting opportunities to the commercial classes of Japan, but being already supplied with a surplus of cheap labor, they do not offer any great inducement to the Japanese emigrant laborer. Many Korean laborers, on the contrary, are seeking relief from the crowded conditions in their own country, and with their Japanese neighbors are looking to the United States, where ten times the wages await them that can be had in any oriental country. Several thousand Koreans, mostly laborers, came to Hawaii last year.

As indicating what is likely—almost certain—to happen in the next twenty-five years, in the absence of an exclusion law, let us look at some of the European countries and the percentages of their own population they have been sending to us:

Table showing the percentages of the populations of the European countries named who have emigrated to the United States during the past twenty-five years.

	per cent.
England	31
Ireland	26
Scotland	51
German Empire	41
Norway	181
Sweden	15
Austria-Hungary	41
Italy	61
Switzerland	41

In none of these countries, except possibly Ireland, were the conditions for the past twenty-five years so favorable for a large emigration to this country as they are to-day in Japan. The lowest country in the above table in the per cent of her

population which came to us in the past twenty-five years is England. She sent us $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of her total population. If Japan should in the next twenty-five years send us no more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of her population, 1,438,000 Japanese would land in this country before the end of the year 1930, and the result would be that practically every laborer except those of the most skilled classes would be driven off the Pacific coast. If Japan in the next twenty-five years should send us the same proportion of her population as Italy has in the past twenty-five years, or $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent—and why not, unless prevented by our laws?—2,750,000 Japanese would land on our shores—enough to practically sweep the entire country west of the Rocky Mountains clean of white laborers. As is well known, no white man can compete with the Japanese laborers. They are satisfied to be housed in such cramped and squalid quarters as few white men in any part of the world could live in, and the food that keeps them in condition would be too cheap and poor to satisfy the most common labor in this country. Besides, the large percentage of Japanese immigrants have no families to provide for and no children to educate.

So much for the future possibilities of danger. But it does not all lie in the future. According to the census of 1900 there were in this country 72,171 Chinese and 24,530 Japanese. It is probable that these figures are not far from representing the number of Chinese now here.

Since the last census year about 90,000 Japanese have landed. Although some of these have returned to Japan, it is certain that there are more Japanese in this country to-day than Chinese, and that the total Mongolian population is more than 150,000, an increase of 100 per cent in the last six years in the Mongolian population. Nearly half of this population is in California, and when it is considered that almost every one of these Mongolians is a wage-earner, it is plain what this means to the laboring people of our State. They are already feeling the competition of this cheap labor, and in some lines of work the Mongolians have entirely driven out the white laborers. For example, Watsonville, just outside my district, in Santa Cruz County, is a rich center of apple and berry growing. A few years ago a large number of white people were pleasantly and profitably employed in the orchards and berry fields. To-day, I believe, about 2,000 Japanese are employed practically the year through, to the entire exclusion of the whites. In my own county one of the leading industries is seed farming. Here, too, the white man has been entirely displaced by several hundred Chinese and Japanese laborers. The conditions are the same in other places and avocations. The following statement shows something of the conditions in San Francisco. It is made up from statistics compiled by the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League of that city.

Mr. FASSETT. Are you giving statistics, to be extended in the RECORD, of the wages received in San Francisco by the laboring classes?

Mr. HAYES. Yes; I am giving statistics showing the relative wages of the Mongolian, especially the Japanese, and the white man. And I want to say, in passing, that these statistics were gathered by the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, of San Francisco. I can not vouch for their accuracy, but have no doubt that they are substantially correct.

Mr. FASSETT. You have a bureau of labor statistics in California?

Mr. HAYES. Yes. These have been gathered and brought very nearly down to date.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania. Would the gentleman prefer not to be interrupted at this time?

Mr. HAYES. I do not object at all to being interrupted by a question.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania. I have no desire to cut into this very splendid speech which the gentleman is delivering, and which is full of interesting matter. Have you suggested a remedy anywhere?

Mr. HAYES. I did; at the beginning.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania. I am sorry I did not hear it. Will you please answer me this question, if I do not embarrass you?

Mr. HAYES. Not at all.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania. What do you think the result will be if we should exclude the Japanese from this country? Do you not think that, like the Crusaders, we would be tired of our pilgrimage abroad and would come home to reign?

Mr. HAYES. That is what I desire to do.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania. If you exclude the Japanese from our shores, what do you think will become of us in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. HAYES. That is a matter that is not concerning me just now, but I am more concerned about what will become of us at home.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania. That is a thing that should concern us all.

Mr. HAYES. I think I understand the gentleman, that if we exclude the Japanese, we will have trouble with the Japanese nation. If that is true, that is one good reason why we should exclude them. I do not think the time has come, Mr. Chairman, when this country can be dictated to by any foreign power as to what its domestic policy shall be; and that would have no weight with me, and I hope it would not with the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania. I do not know that it should; but the terrible results which would come, it seems to me, ought perhaps to enter into the discussion is the reason I asked my friend the question.

Mr. HAYES. Mr. Chairman, I have given some thought to that question. I do not think anything terrible would result at all. I believe the reigning class of Japan would be very glad to keep their laborers at home or near home. I do not think they desire that they should come to this country in any large numbers.

Mr. WEEKS. Mr. Chairman, as the gentleman from California has been interrupted, I would like to ask him if he has considered what effect the restriction of Japanese emigration would have on the twenty-five or thirty millions of trade we have with that country. In other words, what effect it would have on us?

Mr. HAYES. I do not think it would have any appreciable effect. I do not see why it should. I see it stated in the public press, in the line of the suggestion of the gentleman from Penn-

sylvania, that the Emperor and the statesmen of Japan are opposed to emigration of Japanese to this country.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania. Can not they prevent it?

Mr. HAYES. I see it also stated that the Japanese consul at Hawaii, according to the statement I read, referring to the large immigration of Japanese coming to Hawaii, tried to prevent them going there, and especially tried to prevent them coming to this country. I suppose he must have been acting under the directions of the home Government, otherwise he would not have done so. So that I think no trouble need be anticipated from that source at all.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania. Would not the ruling powers of Japan, then, have the power to prevent emigration?

Mr. HAYES. Undoubtedly.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania. Then why should we entangle ourselves in any way, I should ask my friend?

Mr. HAYES. We should not unless it imperils us in some way or becomes a menace to our citizenship; unless that emigration continues to increase as it has. You understand there is no direct opposition to the educated class of Japanese.

Mr. BUTLER of Pennsylvania. I should say not.

Mr. HAYES. But it has probably not yet reached the point where the Government of Japan has passed any laws with reference to emigration to the United States. It has not reached sufficient magnitude yet; but I have no doubt, as in the case of the Chinese, that if this Government should take the matter up with Japan it could be arranged amicably. You understand, Mr. Chairman, that our people are not objecting to the coming of Japanese of the educated classes. Our only objection is to the coming of the coolie class, the laborers, who not only compete with our white labor at home but drive them out, take their homes away from them of necessity, because they can not live on the wages the Japanese can thrive upon, because they bring another civilization into our midst and degrade especially our rising generation. These are the principal reasons we object to Mongolians of any kind.

Mr. ESCH. Is it the understanding of the gentleman that this exclusion of Japanese would extend to the Isthmus of Panama?

Mr. HAYES. My idea of this exclusion is simply that it should affect our own home people.

Mr. ESCH. Would the passage of this exclusion act have any effect on Japanese taking employment on the Isthmus?

Mr. HAYES. None whatever.

I ought to say, in passing, that this table which I shall ask leave to print shows that the wages of the Japanese are not only lower than those of the white laborer, but they are lower than those of the Chinaman. When it comes to a matter of competition between the Chinese and the Japanese the Japanese can cut them out every time, because they can live on less than any other human being in the world. The Japanese has the science of living at a minimum reduced to the finest point of any nationality that I know of in the world. I ought to say also that this statement shows that the hours of working are very much longer in the case of the Japanese laborer than in the case of the American, showing fourteen hours, and often sixteen

hours, as a day's work, where an American white man works from eight to eleven hours.

STATEMENT OF WAGES, HOURS OF LABOR, AND CONDITIONS IN SAN FRANCISCO.

"Sailors.—It is said that there are about 2,700 Mongolians employed on American vessels sailing from Pacific coast ports; but from a gentleman who has made a close study of the subject, and who has a list of numbers employed on each vessel, we have received information which convinces us that there are no less than 3,500 Mongolians competing with American seamen on vessels sailing from Pacific coast ports. From the same source we learn that the Army and Navy employ about 1,000 of the same kind of "cheap labor."

Butchers.—They are confronted with the employment of 200 Chinamen, who work about sixteen hours a day, compared with ten of the white butcher. The Chinese handle about 75 per cent of all the pork slaughtered in the city, and the white butchers handling pork, with the exception of sausage makers, who receive "union wages," are compelled to work for 25 to 50 per cent less money than those engaged in other branches of the trade. Ten of the Chinese butchers belong to the Butchers' Board of Trade.

It is further stated that meats unfit for human consumption can be obtained at all times in Chinatown, and from those shops the Japanese restaurants and boarding houses obtain most of the meat supplied to their patrons.

Broom makers.—The Chinese have virtually destroyed competition in that industry by means of the cheap and inferior goods made by them. The white broom maker works nine hours for a wage of \$2.50; the Chinaman works from ten to fourteen hours, his wage ranging from 75 cents to \$1.25 per day.

Garment cutters.—Twenty to thirty Chinese employed at a maximum rate of \$2 per day, white men receiving \$3.50. In many instances "unionism and public opinion" have caused manufacturers to displace the Chinese by white cutters.

Iron molders.—Three Japs were employed for seven months by a company at Point Richmond, which subsequently failed; wages \$12 per week. They lived in a small cabin, their diet being rice and beans. Skill good for the time they worked, but they showed no regard for sanitary rules.

From the Stockton laundry workers.—We receive information that they are in competition with 200 Chinese and 20 Japs. Hours of labor of whites, ten; of the Chinese and Japanese, sixteen to twenty hours. Wages, whites \$1.25 to \$3 per day; the wages paid the Chinese and Japanese can not be ascertained. Five-eighths of the laundry work is being done by the Mongolians and the white worker is being constantly reminded by his employer of the difficulty he experiences in competing with Mongolians. Chinese and Japanese work is stated to be much inferior to the white and much cheaper. That is the essence of the desire for Japanese labor, "cheapness."

We now come to the most interesting and important information that has been furnished your committee by means of the returned papers—that of the cooks, cooks' helpers, and waiters.

From the cooks it is learned that the number of Chinese employed will vary according to the season—150 to 300; Japanese, from 400 to 1,000.

Hours of labor.—Union, from ten and one-half to thirteen; Chinese, from fourteen to sixteen; Japanese, the same as Chinese.

Wages.—Union, \$15 to \$25 for six days; Chinese and Japanese, from \$25 to \$35 per month, without any day off during the week. Work very poor, especially in the houses run by Japanese, where the meals are very cheap (usually 10 cents) and which entice a certain class of custom to extend their patronage.

Wages for white men.—Cooks, \$60 to \$90; waiters, \$40; miscellaneous help, \$22.50. Japanese cooks, \$35; waiters, \$30; miscellaneous help, \$20. The delegates may draw their own conclusions as to the reasons for employing Japs and as to how long the white man will be able to hold his own against such competition.

Pile drivers and bridge builders.—It is learned that the cooks and their helpers in the railroad construction and repair camps are chiefly Chinese and Japanese, but no data was furnished relative to wages and hours of labor.

Cooks' helpers are working in competition with 200 to 300 Chinese and from 500 to 600 Japanese, according to the time of the year.

Wages.—White helpers receive \$8 for a week of 6 days. Chinese work 7 days of 14 hours each for \$5. The Japanese day is also 14 hours for 7 days in the week, but he only receives \$4, his competition being disastrous even to the Chinese.

Waiters.—The Chinese restaurants, of which 36 are noted, employ 180 of their own countrymen. Of the Japanese there are employed 1,200 by the month in boarding houses, saloons, and Japanese restaurants, of which there are about 67.

Hours of labor.—Union men, 10; women, 9. Chinese average 13; Japanese average 14.

Wages.—Union men (minimum), \$10.50; women, \$7. Chinese average \$6 to \$7; the Japanese from \$4 to \$5. Thus we see that at every point of contact the Japanese can discount the Chinaman.

Shoe workers.—A short while since a count was made of the Japanese shoe stores, repair shops, etc., and no less than 236 were counted. Since then many stores have been opened in various localities, which we believe would add, at the very least, 25 to that number. Each shop has a boss and one apprentice, sometimes two or three; they work early and late. We have seen them working at 6 a. m. and at 10 p. m. They charge all the traffic will bear, except when located in close proximity to a white man; then the figures will be cut in half until competition ceases.

Garment workers.—There have been visited 72 stores, employing 769 hands—all turning out goods to be sold to our wives and daughters—wages from \$4 per week to \$60 per month, according to the class of work; and, mind you, these rates do not include grub; that they must furnish themselves. Some of the establishments eat, sleep, cook, and perform their natural functions all in the same room.

The census report for 1900 says that there were 12,528 Mongolians employed in San Francisco at that date, segregated as follows:

Laborers	697
Laundry workers	2,087
Servants	3,054
Merchants (retail)	1,327
Porters	97

Salesmen -----	256
Seamstresses (men) -----	249
Shoes and repairs -----	274
Machine operators -----	363
Shirts and collars -----	205
Tailors -----	501
Cigars and tobacco -----	727

That the percentage of employed has increased according to the increase of immigration, we are sure.

The Report of the Commissioner of Labor for 1904 says that 93 per cent of the Mongolians were employed in gainful occupations and the investigations conducted by us show that there is not a business but what is affected by the Japanese competition; that the Japanese furnish each other with everything that is essential to their domestic and industrial existence—banking, printing, medicine, dentistry, teaming, peddling, all kinds of merchandise—in fact, every industry necessary to maintenance of urban life has its Japanese representatives, and they buy and sell and trade with each other, and no white storekeeper, not even a saloon, benefits one dollar by their presence in San Francisco or California.

Building trades.—For the purpose of securing information concerning the inroads likely to be made by the Japanese on the building trades, Dr. Carl Saalfeld submitted plans for a house he contemplated building to Japanese architects and contractors with the following results:

He found that the Japanese have entered into all of the thirty-four trades connected with the building of a modern house. He found that they would build a house for \$2,000 less than the lowest bid from an American firm. That bid was \$5,800. The Japanese offered to build it for \$3,800. They would do everything from the excavating to the plumbing, gas-fitting, painting, and decorating—turning over the keys for a finished house. The Doctor, thinking there had been some mistake, went over the plans with them, even to the tile laying, but they stood by their figures. They pay their carpenters \$1.50 per day and their laborers about 60 per cent less than a white laborer receives. The item for common labor had been figured by the American at \$700—the Japanese figured it at \$250.

In Alameda County they have done much cement work, and good work too, but at a figure which a white man can not touch and live.

Social conditions.—All that has ever been said in Congress by the advocates of Chinese exclusion during the past forty years; all that has ever been written on the subject; all the information that has been collected and buried out of sight in Congressional committee reports as to the vileness and bestiality of oriental vices, is as true of the Japanese in our midst as of the Chinese.

Viewed from our standpoint, they have no social standard; they have no morals; their women occupy a very inferior position; many of them are held merely as chattels and for immoral purposes and just as long as they are profitable to their masters. It is even susceptible of proof that many of the women so held in bondage are operated on in infancy so as to fit them for their vile calling and to prevent the inconvenience of childbearing.

From an inspection of a dozen houses occupied by Japanese, it was learned by the health officers that the occupants were living in a condition so utterly opposed to American conceptions

of cleanliness and decency as to be a positive menace to public health.

Their unclean habits had left their marks on the walls; the noisome odors were unbearable, and the extreme filthiness disclosed caused the officers to declare that the conditions existing in those buildings were a menace to life and health."

Now, Mr. Chairman, naturally the laboring men of the Pacific coast are objecting to this kind of competition, and justly so. Of late it has become quite the fashion in certain quarters to sneer at one who ventures to speak of the demands and of the rights of labor, and especially of union labor. We have become accustomed to hear of union despotism and union arrogance, and have heard the labor trust of late condemned with the other trusts that infest the land. I am not here to defend injustice or unreasonable commercial demands, no matter by whom practiced or made, but in the contest against cheap foreign labor my sympathies are all with the laborers of the United States.

When the laborer with American ideals—with a home to maintain, a family to support, and children to educate—sees his job taken by a man wholly alien in race, with no family ties or responsibilities, and who, by the laws of our country, can never be admitted to the responsibilities of citizenship, he would not be worthy of the name of freeman if he did not fight for his home, his wife, and his children with every weapon at his command. He would be far from the intelligent laborer that he is reputed to be if he did not organize and join with his fellows to more effectually fight the common enemy. And every lover of his kind and every patriot should help him in this fight. The very existence of the Republic depends upon it. As the proportion of our citizens who work for wages increases it is becoming more and more important that the child of the laborer should be educated to understand and to bear properly responsibilities that will devolve upon him as a freeman, as one of the sovereigns of this great country. It is also more and more important with the passage of each year that the laborer should be made to feel that the Government of this country will deal justly, yea, generously with him, and that it will assist him to maintain every equitable right and protect him from every enemy who would destroy his home and his American standard of living. From every consideration this House should hear this protest of the laborers of the Pacific coast against Mongolian invasion. We should at least not deny their petition before it is heard or considered. The danger that threatens them is great and immediate. The spirit of immigration is rapidly taking possession of the Japanese mind, and in the immediate future the number coming to the Pacific coast will greatly increase.

But there are larger and more imperative reasons than any I have mentioned why we should close our gates firmly against all Mongolian immigration. It may be that the time may come when men of all nations will recognize the man of alien race as their brother and live with him in love and harmony. But that time is not yet. If it ever comes it will be far in the future. Race prejudice seems to be planted firmly in the average human nature. You may inveigh against it as barbaric and un-Christian, but this does not eradicate it. It would be foolish to shut our eyes to its almost universal presence.

The white people of the Pacific coast have no relations of a social nature with the Japanese now there, and it is not de-

sirable that they should have. There is no mingling or fraternizing between the two races, while in the hearts of the white laborers this natural antagonism is rapidly growing into a feeling of enmity and hatred for the race which is taking away their means of subsistence by greatly underbidding them in the labor market. If the present influx of Asiatics continues, the race question will soon be more acute on the Pacific coast than it has been in the States of the South. We already have one race problem on our hands, the solution of which no man can see, and I aver that this is enough without importing another one. We confidently appeal to our brothers of the South who are wrestling with this great problem not to be a party to foregoing a similar problem upon us of the Pacific coast.

Mr. UNDERWOOD. I will say to the gentleman from California that the South has always tried to stay by the Pacific coast on this question.

Mr. HAYES. I am quite aware of that, and I will say to the gentleman from Alabama that the Pacific coast appreciate the friendship and cooperation of the people of the South in this matter.

It has been urged that the labor necessities of the Pacific coast demand this Mongolian immigration. Why, they say, your fruit industry, your mines, your seed farms can not be worked and developed without them. It is better that they never should be developed than that our white laborers should be driven out or degraded by Mongolians. The same arguments were no doubt used a century or so ago to justify the bringing of African labor to this country. But there is no labor demand upon the Pacific coast that can not be fully met with white laborers, if conditions are made such that they will wish to come and remain there. No self-respecting white laborer will work beside the Mongolian upon terms that will be satisfactory to the latter. The proposition whether we shall have white or yellow labor on the Pacific slope must soon be settled, for we can not have both.

If Mongolians are allowed to freely come—and if they are they will come in large numbers—the white laborer will not go there. He will soon come to understand that that section of our country is no place for a laboring man, and he will shun it as he would a pestilence. And who can blame him? Would you wish to take up your residence permanently in Japan? Would you willingly subject your children as they grow to manhood and womanhood to the oriental environment, with its semibarbaric ideas and its stifling and filthy moral atmosphere? Yet what difference is there between living with the Japanese in Japan and permitting the Japanese to come and live with you in California?

A few years ago our people came to the Congress of the United States asking for protection against the evils that threatened them from incursions of large numbers of Chinese. When the conditions became understood the request was granted; the Chinese-exclusion acts were the answer. We are now asking for protection from a new danger, just as real and nearly as great as threatened us twenty-five years ago, and we shall keep on asking for protection from it until the generous people of the United States protect our children, our homes, our people by extending the Chinese-exclusion act to include all Mongolians. [Prolonged applause.]

**The Treaty-Making Power of the Govern-
ment and the Japanese Question.**

SPEECH

OF

HON. EVERIS A. HAYES,
OF CALIFORNIA,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, January 23, 1907.



WASHINGTON.
1907.

SPEECH
OF
HON. EVERIS A. HAYES.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 24640) making appropriations for the payment of pensions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908, and for other purposes—

Mr. HAYES said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: On Wednesday last the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. FOSTER] engaged in an able and learned discussion of the subject of the treaty-making power, and on yesterday we listened to a clear exposition of the same question by the distinguished and learned lawyer the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. SHERLEY]. The conclusion drawn from the authorities quoted by the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. FOSTER] seems to be that by means of a treaty the Federal Government may legislate—indeed, has legislated—upon subjects which are generally supposed to have been reserved to the States. The impression conveyed was, although this was not directly stated by the gentleman, that at least in some cases the Federal Government could make encroachments upon the States through the treaty-making power when the Congress of the United States, expressing itself by means of a statute, would be held by the courts to be exercising powers not granted to it by the Constitution.

I think the authorities cited by the gentleman do not fully support this claim. On the contrary, it seems to be pretty well settled that the President and the Senate can make no treaty which the Congress of the United States could not afterwards supplement, alter, or repeal by a statute.

Although this has never been directly decided by the Federal courts, still the decisions on the treaty-making power lead very strongly to the conclusion that a treaty as well as a statute of the United States has no validity unless the power to deal with the subject-matter of it is conferred expressly or by necessary implication by the Constitution. There seems to be nothing in the authorities to give color to the claim that a treaty may invade territory from which the statute passed by Congress is excluded.

In the case of *Fong Yue Ting v. United States* (149 U. S., 721) Mr. Justice Gray, delivering the opinion of the court, says:

A treaty, it is true, is in its nature a contract between nations, and is often merely promissory in its character, requiring legislation to carry its stipulations into effect. Such legislation will be open to future repeal or amendment. If the treaty operates by its own force and relates to a subject within the power of Congress, it can be deemed in that particular only the equivalent of a legislative act, to be re-

pealed or modified at the pleasure of Congress. In either case the last expression of the sovereign will must control.

So far as a treaty made by the United States with any foreign nation can become the subject of judicial cognizance in the courts of this country, it is subject to such acts as Congress may pass for its enforcement, modification, or repeal.

That the power to regulate the relations of the United States with foreign countries and the intercourse of the citizens of our own and other nations has been granted by the Constitution to the Federal Government can not, of course, be denied. That treaties made or statutes passed by the Federal Government for the purpose of such regulation must be held paramount over the constitution, laws, or local ordinances of any State must be admitted. But it may at least be doubted whether under the Constitution the treaty-making power of the Government could legislate by a treaty to take away the reserved rights of the States in a case where the Congress of the United States could not constitutionally do so. The case of *Fong Yue Ting*, above quoted, and several others that might be cited, seem to establish the principle that a treaty which requires no legislation to put it in force, but operates of itself, is to be regarded only as the equivalent of a statute, and that the Executive and the Senate can make no treaty in regard to the rights of aliens that could not be modified or wholly abrogated by a subsequent act of Congress. It would therefore seem to follow that the authority to make a treaty under the Constitution must be discovered by exactly the same process as the authority to pass a statute. The grant of power to make treaties, I venture to assert, must be exercised like any other power conferred upon any branch of the Federal Government, not as if it were the only grant contained in the instrument, but in full view of all the other provisions and subject to all the limitations of the Constitution, in order to give them all operation and authority. The provision of the Constitution reserving to the States or to the people all powers not granted to the Federal Government must be just as binding upon the treaty-making power as upon any other branch of the Government. Any other doctrine would be revolutionary in its tendency.

In view of these principles, most of which are well settled by the decisions of the courts, what shall be said of the right claimed for the treaty-making power of the United States by a treaty with a foreign government to force the citizens of a State to tax themselves to maintain schools for the education of the children of unnaturalized aliens temporarily residing in such State? To come down to the specific case which has called forth this discussion of the extent of the treaty-making power, could the Executive and the Senate of the United States make a valid treaty with Japan under which the President of the United States could lawfully employ the Army and the Navy to compel the people of California or any municipality therein to tax themselves to furnish free education for the children of such unnaturalized subjects of the Mikado as might happen to be residing in such State or municipality? The provision of the Constitution that "direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers," ought, it would seem, to set that question at rest. No one will probably claim that the Federal Government could constitutionally levy direct taxes upon the people of California for the purpose of establishing and maintaining

schools in which to educate the subjects of Japan sojourning in California; nor could Congress pass any law compelling the levying of such direct taxes by the several States for such purpose. Where is the authority for claiming that the Federal Government may in this respect do by indirection, through a treaty, what it can not do directly? If the expense of maintaining the schools of California or any part of it was borne by the Federal Government there might be at least some basis for such a claim.

The gentleman from Vermont admits that California is under no obligation to the General Government to maintain schools or to educate anybody. But he states, "that the treaty-making power of the National Government can by treaty stipulation provide that the subjects of Japan may enjoy in the State of California, equally with the citizens of the State, such public schools as the State of California does maintain." Whether the treaty-making power could do this is at least subject to very grave doubt. Certainly no decision cited by the gentleman or any decision that I can find goes so far. All the decisions which he cited in support of this contention relate to the right of the alien to own, enjoy, and transfer property, to the right to labor for a livelihood, and generally the right to protection and to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Nearly all of these rights are guaranteed to all persons within the jurisdiction of the several States by the Federal Constitution, and are very different from a privilege enjoyed, for example, by the people of California, and for which they themselves pay. Between property rights—between those imperative rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the local privileges enjoyed by the people of California, for which they tax themselves and of which they may at will deprive themselves—there is a wide and most radical difference. If the Federal Government may by treaty or otherwise constitutionally invade these local privileges and dictate how they shall be enjoyed and who shall enjoy them, as yet the courts have not judicially determined that this is the supreme law of the land.

Mr. Chairman, it is not my purpose at this time to enter upon any extended discussion of these constitutional questions, but I believe the time has come when I may discuss dispassionately and briefly the recent incidents in our history which have called forth these discussions. The recent San Francisco school incident, happily for the people of California, does not involve any of these constitutional questions, because when the facts are understood it will be found that San Francisco has not violated the treaty between this country and Japan. The only part of the treaty of 1894 between this country and Japan upon which any claim of violation could be based reads as follows:

In whatever relates to rights of *residence* and travel, to the possession of goods and effects of any kind, to the succession to personal estate by will or otherwise, and the disposal of property of any sort and in any manner whatsoever, which they may lawfully acquire, the citizens or subjects of each contracting party shall enjoy in the territories of the other the same privileges, liberties, and rights and shall be subject to no higher imposts or charges in these respects than native citizens or subjects or citizens or subjects of the most-favored nation.

It is claimed by some that the right of residence thus granted to the citizens of Japan implies not only the right of all Japanese children to education in the public schools in this country and at public expense, but also the right to education in the same

schools as the children of our own citizens or those of other foreign countries. In other words, it is claimed that under this treaty when a citizen of Japan comes to this country and takes up a temporary residence, as a matter of international right he can force himself or his children into any public school in the land without any reference to local or State laws, regulations, or customs. If this claim of Japan should be held to be well founded, before long we may expect to see Japan insisting that her treaty rights have been invaded and her citizens discriminated against, because we naturalize the subjects of Germany, for example, put them on the police force, and even send them to Congress, and the like privileges are not extended to citizens of Japan. In nearly every municipality in this country where there is any considerable percentage of colored population the colored school children are segregated from those of white parentage, yet under this claim of Japan her citizens are not to be held as bound by local school laws and regulations which have universally been held to be constitutional and proper and binding upon our citizens of colored blood.

But the assumption that the treaty of 1894 intended to give and does give to the subjects of Japan the right to free education is a violent one not warranted by the language of the treaty itself. The rights conferred by the treaty are clearly and specifically enumerated and the right to free public education is not among them. It should also be borne in mind that under our law Japanese can not become citizens, and therefore neither the United States nor the State of California would be chargeable with a duty to educate in order to prepare the future citizen for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

Even admitting that the treaty of 1894 does give to Japanese subjects equal opportunities for education in the public schools as our own citizens, still the board of education in segregating the children of Japanese parentage from the white children has violated no treaty and done no wrong. The Civil Code of California, section 1662, reads as follows:

(School.) Trustees shall have the power to exclude children of filthy or vicious habits, or children suffering from contagious or infectious diseases, and also to establish separate schools for Indian children and for children of Mongolian or Chinese descent. When such separate schools are established, Indian, Chinese, or Mongolian children must not be admitted into any other school.

In accordance with this statute, many years ago a separate school was established in San Francisco and has since been maintained for the education of Chinese children, called the oriental school. Since this separate school was established, in accordance with the positive mandate of the statute that "Indian, Chinese, or Mongolian children must not be admitted to any other school," the San Francisco school board had no alternative; it was obliged, under the law, to assign the Japanese children to the oriental school. Some unfavorable comment has been caused because there were only 93 Japanese children affected by the order of the board assigning them to the oriental school, 25 of whom were native born. If there were but 9 such children, the case would be the same; it was the duty of the board to assign them to the oriental school. This school is centrally located, as well equipped and with as competent teachers as any in the city. Chinese have been attending the

oriental school for years, and nobody has discovered that their segregation was "a wicked absurdity."

Was it legal and proper for California or the school authorities of San Francisco to segregate the native-born school children of Mongolian descent, establish separate schools for them, and forbid them to attend the schools maintained for white children? There is not a particle of doubt that the San Francisco school board had a perfect legal right to do this. In *Roberts v. City of Boston* (5 Cushing, 198) it appeared that 160 primary schools were maintained in that city, and of this number two were devoted to the exclusive use of colored children and the balance to the exclusive use of white children. The opinion of the court, delivered by Chief Justice Shaw, held this to be legal and proper. *Ward v. Flood*, 48 Cal., 36, was an exactly similar case. The court approves the doctrine of the case of *Roberts v. City of Boston*, and holds that the exclusion of the colored children from the white schools was legal and proper. In *State v. McCann* (21 Ohio St., 198) it appeared that a colored school had been established, organized out of several adjoining districts for colored children, and they were excluded from the schools attended by white children. Action was brought to compel the admission of these colored children to the white schools. This application was denied and the court in its opinion uses this language:

The plaintiff, then, can not claim that his privileges are abridged on the ground of inequality of school advantages for his children. Nor can he dictate where his children shall be instructed, or what teacher shall perform that office, without obtaining privileges not enjoyed by white citizens. Equality of rights does not involve the necessity of educating white and colored persons in the same school any more than it does that of educating children of both sexes in the same school.

The same doctrine is held in *People ex rel. King v. Gallagher* (93 New York, 438). The decisions of practically all the courts of the land down to the present time on this subject are in harmony with these principles.

It being, therefore, perfectly legal and proper for California and San Francisco to do just what has been done in the way of segregation of its native-born children of oriental descent, will it be claimed that the subjects of Japan have a right to education in white schools in defiance of the laws of California and the ordinance of San Francisco, which are binding upon native American citizens of oriental blood?

If it shall be decided that Japanese children have this right under the treaty, such decision would have far-reaching effects. For example, here in Washington the colored children are segregated and taught in separate schools, and are not allowed to attend the schools maintained for white children exclusively. There is in our treaty with Great Britain a provision very similar to the one I have quoted from the treaty with Japan. If Japan and her friends are correct in their claim, the colored subjects of Great Britain from Jamaica or the Bermudas could come to Washington and insist upon attending the white schools here in spite of the school authorities of the District, or even of the Congress of the United States itself. A subject of Great Britain of Chinese descent from Hongkong could come to San Francisco and, refusing to attend the oriental school provided for him, could enlist the Federal Government, if necessary, to

compel the white schools of that city to receive and teach him in defiance of the local authorities.

But the treaty clearly does ~~not~~ undertake to grant such right. The gentleman from Vermont admits that never in the history of our diplomacy has the treaty-making power undertaken to give to aliens rights above those enjoyed by our own citizens. I think it may confidently be asserted that the treaty-making power of the United States has never intended to make and has never made a treaty with Japan under which a citizen of Japan, on becoming a temporary resident of this country, by that act acquires the right to dictate to an American city how its public schools shall be run. If the treaty-making power should ever drift so far from our traditions and the popular conceptions of the powers of the Federal Government as to make such a treaty, I hope, for the sake of the right of local self-government, justly dear to the American people and jealously guarded by the citizens of all sections, that the courts would hold it, like a statute undertaking to accomplish the same result, unconstitutional, and therefore void.

Since San Francisco and California in this Japanese school matter have only followed established and long-approved precedents, wherefore all this denunciation and abuse? Of what crime is California guilty to deserve the threat of the President of the United States to send against her people the armed forces of the United States? Mr. Chairman, she is guilty of desiring to remain American. Her sole offense is that she is strong in the determination to maintain within her borders the civilization of the Caucasian race. Her only crime is that she is trying to go forward with the working out of the national and social and moral ideals of our fathers and is sending out a strong cry against the orientalizing of the Pacific coast by the sons of Nippon or by any other Asiatic immigrants.

The people of California feel no hatred of Japan as a nation nor of the Japanese coolies who have been lately coming to their State in large numbers. As a Representative of California upon this floor I hesitate to say words that might be thought unkind by our Japanese friends. But the people of California know that the ideals of most of the Japanese who have come among them are not American ideals; their ways are not our ways. Theirs is a race different and distinct from ours; very different physically, with a different religion, entirely different traditions reaching back for centuries, different ideas of the family life; and in many ways their viewpoint is totally different from ours. Any attempt to amalgamate these Japanese coolies with our stock would give rise to race problems more difficult of solution than our brothers of the South are now trying to solve. Although the Japanese have been coming to California in numbers for about seven years, there is yet no sign of the establishment of any social relations between them and any element of our population, and I feel sure from what I know of the Japanese character that no matter how long they stay, or whether born on our soil or in Japan, they will continue alien and distinctively Japanese and not American. The leopard can not change his spots. The Creator made the two races different, and different they will remain. I am aware that there is the highest authority for asserting that "God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth," and the same high authority has intimated

that it is a good and pleasant thing for brethren to dwell together in unity, but there is not a single example in history of two peoples, racially widely different, living together in peace, unless one race was subject to the other or the two races were amalgamated. Under our form of government one race can not live in legal subjection to the other, and I think all students of the subject agree that the Japanese can not be assimilated.

In discussing Japanese immigration in California appeals to selfish interests and commercial considerations are most often heard. But this question should be settled upon higher grounds than these. In the light of our experience of the last hundred years, if the negro inhabitants of this country numbered only 100,000, confined to two or three States along the Atlantic seaboard, would we welcome the coming from Africa of large numbers of colored immigrants until they reached a total of millions? I believe that nearly every thinking American will answer this question in the negative. Yet this supposititious case is exactly parallel with the conditions now existing on the Pacific coast in Japanese immigration. With the race problem of the South before them it seems clear that the people of the United States should steadfastly exclude from permanent residence and citizenship in large numbers any race which can not be readily amalgamated with our own stock. But even if assimilation of the Japanese coming to this country would take place easily and rapidly, is such assimilation desirable? What strength or grace of body or mind not already possessed by our people could this totally dissimilar race bring to us? They are certainly much inferior to us physically, and there is the highest scientific authority for claiming that such assimilation would bring only evil. In this connection I beg to quote Herbert Spencer. In his famous letter to Baron Kaneko Kentaro, Mr. Spencer said:

To your remaining question respecting the intermarriage of foreigners and Japanese, which you say is "now very much agitated among our scholars and politicians," and which you say is "one of the most difficult problems," my reply is that, as rationally answered, there is no difficulty at all. *It should be positively forbidden.* It is not at root a question of social philosophy. It is at root a question of biology. There is abundant proof, alike furnished by the intermarriage of human races and by the interbreeding of animals, that when the varieties mingled diverge beyond a certain slight degree, the result is inevitably a bad one in the long run. I have myself been in the habit of looking at the evidence bearing on this matter for many years past, and my conviction is based on numerous facts derived from numerous sources. This conviction I have within the last half hour verified, for I happen to be staying in the country with a gentleman who is well known and has had much experience respecting the interbreeding of cattle; and he has just, on inquiry, fully confirmed my belief that when, say, of the different varieties of sheep, there is an interbreeding of those which are widely unlike, the result, especially in the second generation, is a bad one—there arises an incalculable mixture of traits and what may be called a chaotic constitution. And the same thing happens among human beings—the Eurasians in India, the half-breed in America show this. The physiological basis of this experience appears to be that any one variety of creature in course of many generations acquires a certain constitutional adaption to its peculiar form of life, and every other variety similarly acquires its own special adaption. The consequence is that, if you mix the constitutions of two widely divergent varieties which have severally become adapted to widely divergent modes of life, you get a constitution which is adapted to the mode of life of neither—a constitution which will not work properly, because it is not fitted for any set of conditions whatever. *By all means, therefore, peremptorily interdict marriages of Japanese with foreigners.*

I have for the reasons indicated entirely approved of the regulations which have been established in America for restraining Chinese

immigration, and had I the power I would restrict them to the smallest possible amount, my reasons for this decision being that one of two things must happen. If the Chinese are allowed to settle extensively in America they must either, if they remain nonmixed, form a subjective race standing in the position, if not of slaves, yet of a class approaching slaves; or, if they mix, they must form a bad hybrid. In either case, supposing the immigration to be large, immense social mischief must arise and eventually social disorganization. The same thing would happen if there should be any considerable mixture of European or American races with the Japanese.

I quote also from another high authority, Pouchet. He says:

If we have endeavored to prove that the hybrids of distant races do not possess all the necessary conditions of animal life and of propagation, it would be easy to find numerous proofs in order to show that generally the intellectual conditions of hybrids are not much more satisfactory than their physical condition.

Doctor Tschudi says, in speaking of the Zambos (hybrids from the aborigines and negroes at Lima):

"As men they are greatly inferior to the pure races, and as members of society they are the worst class of citizens; they alone furnish four-fifths of the criminals in the prisons of Lima.

"Mr. E. G. Squier has made the same observation about the Zambos of Nicaragua. In his part of the country the union of Spaniards with these same Americans seems to have only produced degenerate men, who show no capacity whatsoever for perfection."

According to these scientific lights, then, there are already too many mongrels in the world. Why should the United States consent to add to the stock by permitting a possible mixture of totally different races in the States on the Pacific slope?

Attempts have been made in a portion of the eastern press in this country to throw discredit upon the authoritative statement of Herbert Spencer, which I have just quoted, by showing that in this same letter Mr. Spencer took just as positive grounds upon other questions—questions of statesmanship and public policy then agitating the minds of the public men of Japan—which were entirely untenable and which experience has demonstrated to have been wholly wrong. The fact that Mr. Spencer made the mistake of leaving the subject of biology, in the study of which and kindred subjects he had spent his life, and going into other fields to speak with authority upon subjects about which he knew little or nothing should not be allowed to throw discredit upon his statement concerning a scientific matter upon which he was then the greatest living authority. He made the same mistake that some of our eminent American public men have recently been making by joining in condemnation of the sentiments of the people of California as wholly unworthy, and discussing with learned dogmatism Japanese immigration when they have never seen a Japanese coolie in their lives and have no practical knowledge of the subject whatever.

According to the bureau of labor statistics of California, last year the arrivals of Japanese at the port of San Francisco alone, in excess of departures, numbered nearly 1,000 per month. This takes no account of the arrivals at other ports of the United States, nor of those who come in over the borders from Canada and Mexico. This year this net increase promises to be much more, and a high authority estimates that there are now 50,000 Japanese in California—nearly all male wage-earners. And yet many people in the East do not understand nor sympathize with the alarm with which the people of California view this increasing immigration. Members of this House have recently said to me, "Ten or fifteen thousand per year! That is

nothing to cause alarm. Why, we are getting a million aliens a year from Europe over here in the East and think nothing of it." I beg to remind these gentlemen that we have in California about 2,000,000 people, one-fortieth of the population of the United States. Multiply 10,000 or 15,000, the number of yearly Japanese accessions to our population, by forty, and you have 400,000 to 600,000. Do these gentlemen suppose that if 400,000 to 600,000 Japanese coolies were annually landing in New York and spreading themselves over the States of the East, and this immigration was rapidly increasing, there would be no alarm and no protest by the people? I dare assert that as soon as the people east of the Rocky Mountains became acquainted by practical experience with the character of this immigration, and what its continued increase meant to our country, there would be an insistent demand for immediate exclusion legislation which would not be denied. But we are away off on the western rim of the continent, and our cry is small and faint, and the rest of the country is slow to hear and to heed.

But our alarm is not based alone on theory. At our very doors, in the Territory of Hawaii, we have an object lesson. By looking at the conditions there we can see what the Pacific coast is destined to become if the present temper of the Federal Government continues. Thirty years ago there were no Japanese worth mentioning in the Territory of Hawaii, yet to-day they are a majority of all the inhabitants of the islands. Doctor Neill, of the Bureau of Commerce and Labor, has recently compiled a very interesting report on conditions in Hawaii, which has been issued by the Department as Bulletin No. 66. This report shows that the Japanese, with the few Chinese and Koreans now in the islands, are doing 85 per cent of the plantation work and 75 per cent of the work in all other occupations, skilled and unskilled. American skilled labor will soon be driven from the islands, and unless conditions change the labor of the islands will finally be wholly monopolized by the Japanese. They have invaded all avocations there. Many of them are contractors, and 75 per cent of the merchants and traders of the islands are orientals. All that seems to remain to be done to make these islands a Japanese colony is to pull down the Stars and Stripes and hoist the flag of Japan.

The people of the Pacific coast are firm in the conviction that, unless the result is prevented by legislation, the Pacific coast in the next twenty-five years will certainly become as completely orientalized as Hawaii has been. Their conviction is based not wholly upon shadowy fears, nor even upon the experience of Hawaii, but they see this orientalizing process well on the way in parts of California. In the Vaca Valley, for example, from which has come for many years the earliest California fruits, this orientalizing process is well advanced toward completion. Only a few years ago the Japanese came in as laborers in the orchards, later they began to lease and then to buy the orchards, until now one-half the orchards of the fair Vaca Valley are owned or leased by Japanese. Five Japanese own orchards of some 200 acres and many others smaller amounts. The presence of Japanese in any numbers in any community brings the Japanese shopkeeper and trader, the Japanese banker, shoemaker, and Japanese engaged in every form of human employ-

ment, and these Japanese business houses get the trade of their countrymen to the exclusion of the white stores.

In Antioch I am advised that truck farming on the Tule lands is rapidly going through the same transformation, and in the raising-growing districts of Fresno County it is already beginning. In that county one Japanese owns 320 acres of vineyard, another 160 acres, and others smaller amounts. Our people know that as the Jap already has the Vaca Valley so in a short time he will take the Antioch district and the Fresno region, as well as any other district that he chooses to invade.

The causes of these rapid and peaceful commercial conquests are several. In the first place, most Americans do not care to live in a neighborhood where a large percentage of the population is Japanese. They sell or lease their orchards or property at the best price they can get from Japanese or anyone else, and get out. The same thing takes place in San Francisco. When a crowd of Japanese rent a house in the residence portion of that city at once there is a great fall in the price of real estate—in some cases as much as 50 per cent—and an exodus from the neighborhood begins.

But the chief cause for these rapid Japanese conquests is the fact that white labor can not compete with oriental, and especially with Japanese labor. Accustomed to live on a little rice and dried fish, to sleep on a board, and to do with very few of the comforts of life, no white man can hope to hold the field against him. We pass high-tariff laws to protect the American laborer against the products of cheap foreign labor. We Republicans have promised to protect him from this cheap labor. Shall we "keep this promise to the ear and break it to the hope" by permitting, not the products, but the cheapest laborers themselves to come and compete with him at his own door, under the very shadow of his home?

Accustomed at home to labor for a few cents a day, our wages in California seem to the Jap fabulously princely, and it is no wonder that he is eager to reach that land of promise. He is shrewd enough to get as much for his labor as he can, but when he invades a field he cuts under the ruling white wages enough to get the business. Thus the Jap has come to monopolize the labor of the fruit industry of the Vaca Valley, the seed industry of Santa Clara County, and the berry fields and orchards of Watsonville, and thus they will come to monopolize the labor of the Pacific coast, unless their coming be prevented in some way.

Some employers of labor are at first induced to employ Japanese by the temptation of securing cheap labor. But once in possession of the field they cease to be cheap, and no labor union ever was more despotic in its demands than a company of Japanese laborers secure in the possession of a particular field from which they have driven competition. Ask the planters of Hawaii if what I am saying is not true.

The Japanese contractor employs his countrymen at first almost at his own price. He boards his men in his shack at a total expense of \$5 or \$6 per month, and many of these coolies are in virtual slavery to pay for their passage across the Pacific and have little or nothing to say about what their wages shall be. Thus equipped, he starts, as he started in Hawaii, in a California city or town to get business. He will soon be enabled to drive the white contractor out of business or compel him to employ Japanese help. The same thing is true of the Japanese orchard-

ist and truck farmer. He can make all kinds of money selling his product at prices that drive the American employing white labor to the wall. And so, unless arrested by legislation, the process of transforming the Pacific coast from an American into an oriental habitation will go on to its inevitable conclusion. What remedy does the Pacific coast propose for the correction of these present and future evils? We ask that the Chinese-exclusion act shall be extended to embrace Japanese and all other Asiatic laborers. The Asiatic coolie is the key to the situation. On the laborer as a foundation rests the oriental industrial structure, just as the industrial structure everywhere rests upon labor. Exclude the laborer and every other condition to which we object will correct itself.

Nearly one year ago in discussing this subject upon this floor my friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. BUTLER] expressed the fear that if we should pass such legislation as the Pacific coast is asking we would have trouble, perhaps war, with Japan. Why should trouble come? The treaty of 1894 provides for such legislation. The provisions of the Chinese-exclusion act could be extended to embrace Japanese laborers without violating either in letter or spirit our treaty with Japan. The last paragraph of Article II of that treaty reads as follows:

It is, however, understood that the stipulations contained in this and the preceding article do not in any way affect the laws, ordinances, and regulations with regard to trade, the immigration of laborers, police and public security which are in force or which may hereafter be enacted in either of the two countries.

But how is Japan observing the terms of this treaty, under which she is demanding such extraordinary rights and privileges? Americans are not allowed to enter the schools of Japan. They are not allowed to own real estate or engage in mining there. If the business of an American resident of Japan requires him to own real property, he can not purchase or hold it except in the name of some Japanese subject. Should an American laborer go to Japan, he would not be allowed to work unless he procured a license from the prefecture of the district where he was residing. This license would, of course, not be granted if the job he was seeking was wanted by any Japanese laborer. These things I am stating on the authority of a distinguished Japanese lawyer who delivered an address recently before the American Bar Association at Saratoga, N. Y. I am also advised by those who have lived in Japan and speak from experience that Americans in Japan are obliged to pay double the taxes that are assessed against natives. If they wish to attend the theater and the price of a ticket to a native would be 60 sen, the American will be forced to pay 200 sen, and in other things it is the same. Besides these things, the ways in which the Japanese undertake to drive out of Japan any American who embarks in business there are most exasperating.

I have here a letter from a gentleman now living in New York which shows more in detail how this is done. He writes as follows:

NOS. 140 AND 142 PEARL STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.,
December 13, 1906.

HON. E. A. HAYES,
*Member of Congress Fifth Congressional District of California,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 8th duly reached me, and before replying I wished to secure, as requested, the name of an authority on

Japanese laws and their bearing on foreigners under the treaties. The following, "A digest written for the international committee of Yokohama," by Dr. L. Lonholm, will give you particulars:

The treaty may read nice to people on this side who have never been to Japan and have never traded with the Japanese, but there are so many differences between what the United States allows a Japanese when here and what the Japanese Government allows an American in Japan it makes one disgusted and anxious to quit doing anything or having anything to do with Japan or the Japanese.

There is a law in Japan forbidding the transfer of land to foreigners, and under the new treaties foreigners are not entitled to own land. Foreigners can own buildings. The land on which such buildings stand may be held by the foreigners under either a lease or a superficies. Americans can not practice law in Japan or become a printer, editor, or publisher of a newspaper. Americans can not engage in mining in Japan.

While the treaty apparently gives an American the same rights as a Japanese, you will note that the Japanese were shrewd enough not to mention in the treaty that they had already passed *imperative* laws which no treaty could abrogate unless mentioned in the treaty.

My idea is that this time the Japs know they have made a mistake, as they never dreamed of a refusal, and supposed by making a big noise California would at once apologize and open its schools. Japan never expected the final turn down and the subsequent events, knowing full well that an investigation of the treaty will expose the one-sided affair it is.

Some years ago the Japanese Government began paying a subsidy to the Japanese Tea Guild, the object being to drive out the American tea men. The subsidy was paid under the name of a sum to be used to advertise the good qualities of Japan teas and thus add to their consumption. This was unnecessary, as the United States and Canada bought and consumed all the leaf Japan could sell for export. Shortly after the Japanese Government began paying the money Japanese began opening up tea offices in New York, Chicago, and other points, and native tea-firing plants began to operate in the interior tea-growing points of Japan. It then developed that the rents and expenses of the different tea offices in the United States were being paid out of the money paid by the Japanese Government; also that the native tea-firing hongs were being paid 50 yen for every firing pan they put up. It was even bragged of by the Japs in New York that they would soon drive the Americans out of the trade, as they were being backed by their Government.

The writer brought the whole matter up with the State Department, and the Japanese Government agreed to cease paying the subsidy, but, as usual, lied and paid it. On again bringing the matter up the Japanese evidently told the State Department to mind its own business; at least, from the letter I received from the State Department, I inferred as much and ceased trying to get protection. My contention was that the Japanese bounty was an export bounty and that teas on which that bounty was paid should, according to the Dingley tariff, pay an import duty equal to the export duty.

I will be pleased at any time to give you any further particulars, and trust you will never allow a Jap in your public schools, although I believe most of the States in the East, from ignorance of the Jap, would make no objection.

Yours, very truly,

It seems to one of the most humble members of this coordinate branch of the Government that our most distinguished Secretary of State could not be better employed than in striving to secure for American citizens in Japan those rights guaranteed to them by the treaty, but which they are nevertheless denied.

Mr. Chairman, the people of California have one of the fairest spots on all the earth. It is their home, and they love it. They are Americans, and they are here asking Americans to so legislate as to protect them from an insidious conquest of orientals, which, unless prevented by law, will overwhelm them, destroying or rendering wholly uncongenial the homes which they fondly hope to hand down to their children with all the holy influences around them that now pervade the American home. [Prolonged applause.]



A SURVEY
OF THE
JAPANESE QUESTION
IN
CALIFORNIA

BY
J. SOYEDA AND T. KAMIYA

SAN FRANCISCO
1913

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cents a day wil

With the Compliments of the Authors

DR. JUICHI SOYEDA,

Honorary Member of the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce

MR. TADAO KAMIYA,

Honorary Chief Secretary of the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce

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A SURVEY OF THE JAPANESE QUESTION IN CALIFORNIA

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CHAPTER I. *General Survey.*

Since Commodore Perry knocked at the door of Japan in 1852 and advised her to enter into international intercourse, she has been faithfully following in the footsteps of America. In return Japan has been favored with many acts of kindness by her neighbor on the other side of the Pacific.

Japan improved her educational, her banking and currency systems, and carried out many other changes in her institutions following the example of the great Republic. She also sent many of her young men to be educated in American universities.

The refunding of the Shimonoseki indemnity, the good-will shown at the time of the treaty revision, and the services rendered during the Portsmouth negotiations, have drawn Japan still closer to the United States of America, whose name has always been associated with justice, kindness and humanity.

Therefore, when the report of the Alien Land Law having been passed reached Japan, the spirit of which was discriminatory against the Japanese no matter what the pretensions in appearance may have been, the whole nation was at a loss to understand how things had taken such a turn. To say nothing of the great consternation created on the Pacific Coast among the Japanese, the people in Japan were much upset and could not help showing the deepest sympathy for their countrymen across the ocean. Political parties and Chambers of Commerce sent out men to express their sympathy to the sufferers, and to place the subject directly before the American people, hoping thus possibly to facilitate the negotiations between the two governments.

Looking a little further back, after the exclusion of the Chinese, there was a time when the Japanese were welcomed on the Pacific Coast; but since about 1900, and especially since that unhappy attempt at segregating the Japanese school children, the tide has turned. The bar placed before the Japanese coming from the Sandwich Islands, and the absolute prohibition, although initiated and voluntarily adopted by Japan, of fresh immigration of laborers from Japan by what is known

as the "gentleman's agreement" of 1907, were the most revolutionary results of the change.

In Japan, the nation took this "agreement" as unsatisfactory but unavoidable for the time being and has ever since looked for better days when not only her "face" would be saved but when her people would be admitted into this republic as equal fellow beings. And on the American side, too, the classes representing other than a certain element of the laboring men, such as fair-minded, conservative land owners and capitalists, greatly regretted this, partly for the reason that it was not fair or just and more especially for reasons of economic importance.

Meanwhile, gradual changes have been taking place in the status of the Japanese in America, some of them having bought a few lots of land with what they have saved, others who worked before on the railroads becoming tillers of the soil, and others who from their savings as house boys, etc., having started stores and shops of various kinds. Such changes, of course, were the reverse of conditions existing before, and were contrary to the narrow but prevailing sentiment concerning the subjection of the colored race in general.

Unseen, but none the less steadily, changes have been going on also with the American people. Politically, by abuse of democracy; economically, by the pre-eminence of labor; and socially, by the gradual change of the American element and sentiment, her public opinion and state policy occasionally deviating from what they used to be.

Between the years 1907 and 1910 on many occasions various bills discriminating against the Japanese have made their appearance in the Legislature of California. However, by the ultimate prevalence of moderation and fairness, especially by the prompt action of the Federal and State Governments, these have been kept from actually coming into force. Early in 1913, by the change in the United States Government, by the activity of the labor unions in California, and by other political influences, the Alien Land Law and a score of others of an Anti-Japanese nature were brought before the Legislature of the State of California. Affairs became so serious that the Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, himself came over to Sacramento, and did his best to stem the tide. Unfortunately, his efforts did not bear fruit as hoped, and, although other bills did not go through, the Alien Land Law was passed and signed by Governor Johnson on the 19th of May.

The Japanese Government made protest in May, June and July, on the ground of the law being against the treaty and violating the sense of justice. After a great deal of delay and consideration a reply was handed to the Japanese Ambassador toward the end of July by the

United States Government, which, although kept in strict secrecy, it was reported to be a most comprehensive one and couched in courteous terms.

Laying great hope and trust in the justice and fairness of the United States Government, the Japanese in America, as well as at home, were keeping themselves in order and patience all this while. It would, therefore, be a rather difficult task for the Japanese Government to calm down popular resentment if they could not settle the matter satisfactorily, and it is reported that another note will be sent in reply to the last American communication.

CHAPTER II.

Contentions Brought Forward.

There are many reasons raised for the exclusion of the Japanese, but the chief ones may be summarized under the following four headings:

1—Political.

2—Economical.

3—Social.

4—Racial.

FIRST: The Political Contentions.

(a) The Democratic party coming into power, changes came in the way of dealing with the subject, because it had been laying great stress on individual state rights. The progressives in California turned a deaf ear to the words of the President, and Mr. Bryan's personal persuasion was of little avail, except that the wording of the Alien Land Bill was made more diplomatic and the clause allowing three years lease was inserted at the request of the agricultural community of California. The bill being signed by the Governor, it fell to the United States government to decide, and it was placed in a very difficult position. Again it seems to have placed the final settlement on the shoulders of the court. It is much to be regretted that a question of such international importance should be made a subject of party politics, and not be settled before it became so serious.

(b) Labor unions in San Francisco were ever active in working against the Japanese, and so as not to lose their favor, politicians in California had to support the bill, with the exception of a few, such as the Senator from San Diego, who stood for justice and fought so bravely to the end. If the Japanese had had the power of voting things might have been different, so that their helpless situation is much to be pitied.

(c) Some believe that democracy must be a homogeneous body, so that the foreign element—such as the Japanese—must be excluded. But if we turn our eyes to the already existing heterogeneous condition of the American population, composed of negroes, Latins, Slavs, Jews, and what not, the argument falls to the ground. America is strong enough to assimilate different races; and the essential feature of a democracy being equality, it is against its nature to be exclusive or partial.

(d) It is much to be regretted that fears, quite unfounded, have been entertained—especially since the late war—in contrast to the sympathy shown Japan before and during her life and death struggle. To say that Japan is a warlike nation is absurd. What other nation enjoyed peace for so long a time as she? If she was forced to go into

war, it was solely for her self-preservation and for the Far Eastern peace. If she had not stood up or had not been successful in the late war, what would have been her own fate, as well as that of China? The history of the world would have been quite different. It is often said that the Japanese are too patriotic and loyal, but it is not a mere blind patriotism, being founded on the obedience to authority, law and the state. If the Japanese were admitted to take part in the American body politic they would make the best of citizens. It has been officially shown that the Japanese in California are the most law-abiding of all immigrants. Yet all sorts of criticisms are piled up on them and groundless fears are aroused because of the selfish purposes of mischief makers and of those who reap benefits, either directly or indirectly, through the creation of sensations and preparations for war.

SECOND: Of the economic contentions we have—

(a) As the population of the United States is now of considerable size, and as there are undesirable elements coming in from all quarters of the world, the time has come for her to place restriction on immigration. This contention has much weight when we consider that people of extreme socialistic ideas and anarchistic inclinations might some day be a cause of danger to the republic. But the restriction should be placed equally and fairly on all, without any discrimination of race or nationality. It is the unfair discrimination that is most resented by the Japanese nation.

(b) Natural resources must be preserved for posterity. Therefore, to let the Japanese buy up all the best land would be a disaster. It is true that resources must not be wasted, but the Japanese buying a few thousands out of hundreds of millions of acres and increasing the resources of the country, should not be discouraged, especially by such a big country as America, having such an extent of land lying idle.

(c) Some arguments, based on the superiority of the Japanese as to their hard work, their special skill in raising fruit and vegetables, their extra exertion in case of urgency, etc., seem to give rise to the fear that those who compete with them must surely fail. But this is an exaggeration of facts, for the lines along which the Japanese are making their success are quite different from those in which the Americans are working. They are not competing but doing something for the mutual benefit of both nationalities.

(d) Then comes the fear of absenteeism being encouraged if the land is entrusted to Japanese hands, the landlords all going eastward to New York or Europe to enjoy their time. This, also, is an exaggeration of actual facts, for even if the Japanese be excluded, so long as there are other people who would lease the land the same thing would

occur, if it ever does occur.

(e) Attacks, such as the Japanese being satisfied with lower wages or the land deteriorating if Japanese come into a district, are quite contrary to the actual state of things. Japanese get the same wages as Americans, if not higher. They are paying higher rent and are going in steadily for improvements on the land, and thus have increased the price of the land in many localities. Another statement that the Japanese use their own goods and send their money back home, is refuted by the very fact that they buy the land and make so many investments in America. Granting that they send back a part of their savings, the amount is insignificant compared with that sent home by immigrants of many European countries. In any case, the best fruits of the labor of immigrants remain permanent assets of America; what little they send back to Europe or Japan is, in a broad economic sense, an insignificant part thereof.

THIRD: The Social Contention.

(a) It is said that the standard of life of the Japanese is too low, and it has a lowering effect on that of the Americans. Beginning as wage earners on the lowest steps of the social ladder, the Japanese had to be frugal and live simply; but they, too, know well enough how to enjoy comforts and luxuries if they can afford them, and there are already many who live more luxuriously than some other immigrants.

(b) Then it is said that the status of the Japanese women is very low and that they are used for heavy work. Let it be here remembered that the Japanese woman's sphere lies in the home; while they do not take part in social activities, yet in their homes they hold as important positions as their American sisters. Moreover, changes are taking place in this respect and the Western ideas are fast getting a hold.

(c) The Japanese are said to be immoral, going in for gambling and other vices. This may be true in a few cases, but these evils are not the monopoly of the Japanese. Vigorous measures are being taken by the Japanese themselves to remedy all such social evils, and results have already shown themselves in many localities. No human being is free from faults and shortcomings, and if the Japanese are frankly told of their faults, they are most grateful and ready to rectify them.

(d) Then the Japanese, it is claimed, have no religion and are apt to break faith. To this it can be replied in the same way as above. Here it might be well to mention that there are a great many Christians among the Japanese population in America.

FOURTH: And the last, but not the least, comes the contention of race.

(a) The most common one is the non-assimilation theory, and the supporters of this theory declare that true assimilation cannot be effected except by intermarriage. But if thought and sentiment agree, different races can assimilate. Supposing intermarriage is absolutely necessary for assimilation; there are already many cases of intermarriage between the Japanese and the Americans; and there would be many more if it were not for the artificial and unjust restrictions placed by law and usage. In truth, the Japanese are the most assimilative, and their whole history is that of assimilation of different ideas and civilization. It is an admitted fact that Japan has gone far to assimilate the civilization of the East with that of the West, and her example is being followed by other nations in the Orient. If anybody entertains doubts on this point, it would be well for him to have just a look at the Japanese children born in the United States. They are Americans in every respect except color. Before passing judgment as to the assimilability of any race we must allow at least a generation.

(b) It is said "the United States has had too much of the racial question, especially in the solution of the negro problem. Moreover the negro has nothing behind him, unlike the Japanese who are backed by a strong government and nation". To this let it be repeated that the power of assimilation of the United States is strong enough to solve any race question; and surely the country that even fought for the negroes cannot deny the admission of the Japanese on mere racial grounds.

(c) Some say that the United States has already too many people from Europe, and that after the Panama Canal is opened in 1915, the country may be over-flooded with European immigrants. This may be true, but this cannot be given as a reason for placing restrictions upon and excluding the Japanese who are already in the States, unless it is proved that the Japanese are far more undesirable than other immigrants, which is unwarranted by actual facts. Is it a wise and patriotic policy to exclude the intelligent, orderly and loyal elements and welcome those who are ignorant, idle and anarchistic? It must also be remembered that unlimited natural resources and a boundless tract of land in the United States afford ample room for a great number of people, and it is better for her and for the general interest of humanity that her resources be opened and utilized.

(d) It is admitted that the Japanese are not inferior, but are different, and, it is deemed better to avoid intermingling, and if they

intermingle they must become thoroughly Americanized. To keep the different races apart is an impossibility in this day of rapid and easy communication. Of course, no ^{objection} ~~objection~~ can be raised to the placing of strict tests for admission, provided they are not discriminatory.

CHAPTER III.

The Solution.

FIRST: There must be a better understanding of the question by the United States. Even the people in California do not view the matter in a true and comprehensive manner, and therefore it is no wonder the people in the Middle West and Eastern States, being far away and less directly concerned, are still less informed, although they may entertain a better feeling toward the Japanese in general. It is natural that the general American public should believe more readily in what their own people say than what is told by foreigners, and here is the danger of mistaken ideas and distorted facts influencing the minds of the people in general.

Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that the Press and the public opinion of the West should be supplied with true and honest facts, so as to avoid misrepresentation being spread out to the other states. The people, being the leading power and each state having constitutional autonomy, the public opinion in general, and especially in California, must be well guided, in order to save the East from falling into errors and to facilitate the actions of the Federal government in matters of international relations. The easiest way to solve the question would be that of naturalization, although this suggestion had better come from the American side and with necessary safeguards. As regards other questions constitutionally entrusted to the Federal government, such as the due modification or perfection of treaties and conventions, there is no room for doubt that the United States government will do its utmost to settle the matter with honor and satisfaction to both countries.

SECOND: There are many things to be done by the Japanese government, and no doubt it has been doing its best to protect its people and to guard the national honor. If the repeated protests which were based on justice and fairness could pave the way to the revision or amendment of the treaty between the two countries or of the Federal and State laws, so as to remove all causes of doubt, if any, as to the entire equality of the rights of both peoples, it would surely give inexpressible satisfaction and boundless gratitude to the Japanese government and the people. The popular feeling in Japan being so strong and unanimous as regards the Californian question, the Japanese government would be placed in a very delicate and difficult position unless some way be found to relieve the situation.

Some even attack the Japanese government, saying that in the endeavor to carry out the Gentleman's Agreement in a faithful manner, it has been unduly strict, and believe that a relaxation of the

enforcement can be made without breaking faith with the United States government. It must be admitted that the sending out of families is most necessary for the formation of home life, and will help much to improve the condition of the Japanese in America as regards their daily living and mental sobriety. Then it may be advisable that the Japanese laws, such as the Alien Land Ownership Law, the Law of Domicile, etc., be amended on broader lines although no law in Japan is in any way discriminatory. At the same time it is necessary that more supervision and discretion be exercised over people going abroad; and to go still further to the foundation, the system of popular education itself should be improved, with the view that the people may be freed from difficulties and obstacles after they have gone abroad. Emigration of people to other places than the United States must also be investigated; and if by commercial and industrial progress more people could be kept at home, as was so successfully accomplished by Germany, an ideal state of things would be reached.

THIRD: The two governments of the United States and Japan we know, of course, are on the best terms of friendship and good will; but to leave this question unsolved and let it appear from time to time and supply material for the yellow press and petty politicians in both countries to play with, is a matter beset with great danger. For the lasting interest of both countries such a thing must be avoided by all means. If the two governments cannot come to an agreement it may be advisable to submit it to arbitration. At any rate it is absolutely necessary that the question be settled once and for all at the earliest possible moment.

FOURTH: There is much to be done by the Japanese themselves, both in America and at home. In the first place those who are already in the States must strive more and more for assimilation with the people and observance of the laws and customs of the land. They must work strenuously to remedy their faults, and do nothing to startle or irritate the people with whom they are living. Nothing must be done which would furnish material for attack, but any criticism, if well founded and reasonable, must be welcomed. In case they have any grievances or infringements of their rights concerning ownership of land, leases or naturalization, they are constitutionally justified in appealing to a judicature. If they are at any time denied equal social treatment, without any tangible ground, they are entitled to seek redress; but if there be any justifiable ground they must rectify their conduct. Self help is, after all, the best help.

Whatever happens, the children born in the States must be carefully looked after, so that their future may be assured and they become

good citizens of the great Republic. We must not only think broadly, but look far into the distant future.

To return to the question at hand; a part of the unnecessary expenses incurred by the Japanese for clothes and food might far better be used for the betterment of their dwellings and sanitation. Their living in segregation or near the Chinese and frequenting Chinese gambling houses must be stopped, while more church-going and rest on Sundays should be encouraged. Noisy Buddistic rituals, playing of Samisens, keeping of tea houses which arouse opposition and afford room for criticism, might better be avoided. Studying the language, customs and manners of the Americans, and closer intercourse, especially among the women and children, will go far towards bringing about a better understanding. A better use of savings could be made by means of credit associations, and opening public halls and libraries for the common benefit will do much toward mental and moral improvement. Every effort must be made to cast off the old undesirable customs and to adapt themselves to the new environment, so far as it is required by decency and courtesy.

Secondly, the people in Japan itself ought to go more thoroughly into the real aspect of things, not forgetting that a question of this kind requires a great deal of patience and careful consideration. To move a country which is really governed by the people, the movement must come from the people rather than the government and so long as the people of the two countries understand, respect and trust each other, there is no need of being pessimistic about the future.

FIFTH: We are told it is only a question of time and nothing very deep rooted. Other immigrants were disliked in the same way and even now some races are socially excluded. As time goes on, all will be well and it is better to wait and be patient. If we can believe this, and nothing intervenes, well and good. However, we must do whatever we can to hasten such a time by means of "Campaigns of Education" along permanent and broad lines with the aim to enlighten the public opinion not only in the two countries concerned but all the world over, paying special attention to the amelioration of the Japanese abroad.

CHAPTER IV.

Mission of America and Japan.

Although there is some talk of war among irresponsible persons in both countries, yet a question of this nature cannot be settled by fighting, as no trace of enmity must be left after the permanent and fundamental solution of such a question. Moreover, there are other points not to be overlooked, to say nothing of the American Japanese commerce which is already so large and will be sure to increase as time goes on. There are still higher and greater problems for the two countries. Peace on the Pacific, the bringing together of the East and the West, and the harmony between different races, such are the important questions that lie before them. Historically, constitutionally and geographically, the United States is in a position to take the lead in the noble work of guarding the peace of the world and of bringing together the different races, which if brought into conflict might lead to the greatest calamity that ever fell to the lot of man.

Japan will be glad to act in union with the United States, so long as the great Republic walks in the path of peace, justice and humanity; and as Japan's example is followed by other Oriental nations, while the two countries work together for the noble cause, the East and the West will be united and kept in harmony. If the United States goes in for warlike preparations, like the rest of the European nations have, the natural advantage of her position making her unassailable from the outside, is lost to her, and the tendency is that such preparations would some day be used for aggressive purposes. Other nations must be on the lookout for her and the world's peace would be in danger, and the people of all nations would have to groan more and more under heavy and destructive burdens, only to swell the pocket-books of the manufacturers of man-killing instruments. Is it not time then for the two countries to understand each other better, and to do away with suspicious and malicious misunderstandings, settling at once all small differences and working hand in hand for the higher and nobler missions that are left to their united efforts? It may also be well that the two countries enter into some union on a broader basis for the assurance of peace and the furtherance of civilization, thereby wiping out all local and temporary differences.

CHAPTER V.

Lessons Obtained.

FIRST: Japan, which was once petted like a child by the American people, is now unduly feared and even disliked by some as she grows up. But by the deeper study and better understanding of Japan, which was necessitated by the California question, the American public will know more of her neighbor, and it lies with America to judge who of all nations of the world is her best friend. The nation must be awakened to the serious consequences if the matter is not promptly and satisfactorily settled by the higher sense of fairness and a square deal. It is feared by some that Japan, pushing forward commercially, especially in China, might compete with the United States. This argument is unfounded, because there are vast fields and ample room for all in the Eastern markets, and in many cases Japan can be a co-operator and not a competitor of America. Moreover, commerce is not the only thing we must look to, for nations calling themselves civilized or advanced, must be guided by something still broader, higher and nobler.

SECOND: As to Japan herself, she must have found out that the problem of emigration of her people was too much disregarded until now. More care and attention must be paid to the general education and training of her people while at home, fitting them to lead successful and happy lives when they go abroad. In order to keep the gates opened for Japanese immigrants abroad, they must be well equipped physically and morally.

THIRD: It is a matter of congratulation that the Japanese in America are now thoroughly awakened to the need of their own improvement in all directions and it is to be commended that they have kept order perfectly, laying full trust in the two governments so far. Such acts as the repulsion of the Koreans at Hemmet might easily have called forth retaliation if it were not for the strong self-control exercised by the Japanese. However, there is a limit to patience and forbearance. The position of the Japanese on the Pacific Coast, therefore, is worthy of sympathy and praise. To sum up, if this unhappy event creates a better understanding of the Japanese among the people of the great Republic, and if by it the people in Japan and the States strive more for better living and thinking, good will come from evil and the wrong will be righted to the mutual benefit of the two countries and their people.

CHAPTER VI.

Future Forecast.

If, contrary to her traditional faithfulness to justice and humanity, contrary to the high and noble principles laid down by her illustrious forefathers, and, above all, contrary to the teaching of the Christian faith, the great Republic of the United States of America is going in for militant imperialism, and some of her statesmen are looking forward to worldly ambitions and territorial aggrandizement, and are even ready to kindle the fire of race hatred and world-wide consternation, then what would be the disappointment of her trusting friend on the other side of the Pacific, and with it that of the teeming populations of the Orient?

Such a change in her national policy may perhaps give satisfaction to some powers who want to reap benefits while others are quarreling; but what would it mean to the peace of the world, to the harmony among the races, and to the welfare of mankind? Perchance, if such be the goal and aspiration of the United States of America, Japan and other nations of the world will have to change, fundamentally, their ideas about her. However, let us pray that there be no occasion for such a fear, and may all nations be encouraged to walk forever in the path of peace and civilization, by the ultimate triumph of the true American spirit and by the universal prevalence of justice and humanity.

San Francisco, August 6, 1913.



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THE TREATY-MAKING POWER AND THE STATES AND THE
JAPANESE-SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOL CONTROVERSY.

REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN Y. WEBB,
OF NORTH CAROLINA,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Saturday, February 16, 1907.



WASHINGTON.

1907.

7167

REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWIN Y. WEBB.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 25483) making appropriations for the service of the Post-Office Department for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1908, and for other purposes—

Mr. WEBB said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The power to make a treaty is an attribute of sovereignty. A government without the power to conclude treaties can not be either national or sovereign. The various nations of the earth lodge their treaty-making power in the different branches of their governments. In Great Britain the power to conclude a treaty is a prerogative of the Crown, exercised by and with the assistance of a minister.

Prior to 1875, with few exceptions, the King of France had exclusive power to execute treaties. The national lawmaking power in France, however, repudiated the treaty of peace made by King John after the battle of Poitiers, and also the treaty signed by Francis I at Madrid after the loss of the battle of Pavia. These kings, it will be remembered, were actual captives when they executed the treaties, and this may have been the reason which moved their nation to repudiate their acts. Under the French constitution of 1875 the treaty-making power is left to the President. There are certain classes of treaties which he is forbidden to make, however, except with the consent of the national lawmaking power.

The Belgian constitution lodges the treaty-making power in the King, and forbids him to make certain classes of treaties without the consent of the lawmaking power.

In the Netherlands the ruler makes and ratifies treaties, but certain kinds of treaties must be ratified by the States-General before becoming effective.

Likewise in Italy the king alone has the treaty-making power, being forbidden, however, to conclude certain classes of treaties without the consent of the Chambers.

The German constitution of 1871 lodges the treaty-making power in the Emperor, and forbids him making certain kinds of treaties without the consent of the Reichstag.

The King of Spain has the power to make peace treaties and conduct the diplomatic and commercial relations with other powers, but he is expressly forbidden to make certain kinds of treaties unless authorized by law.

In the United States, under the Articles of Confederation, Congress exercised the treaty-making power by appointing commissioners, whose duty it was to originate and conclude treaties, to be afterwards ratified by nine States. From the 4th of July, 1776, to the inauguration of the Government under the Constitution in 1789, the United States concluded fourteen treaties, ten of which were signed by Benjamin Franklin and another commissioner, and three of which were signed by Thomas Jefferson and another commissioner. The Articles of

Confederation provided that the sole and exclusive right and power to conclude treaties vested in the Congress, and the States without the consent of Congress were specifically forbidden to enter into any treaty with a foreign prince or state, or alliance, or confederation whatever, or with any other State of the Confederation. The Articles further provided that no treaty should be made by Congress without the assent of nine States. The same articles further prohibited Congress from entering into any treaty whereby the States should be restrained from imposing such duties and imposts on foreigners as their own people were subjected to.

In the convention which gave birth to our present Federal Constitution there was wide difference of opinion among the great men as to where the treaty-making power should be lodged, but the extent of that power or its limitations were not discussed fully; in fact, the debates on that particular subject were strikingly brief. Some of the great minds of that historic body wanted this power lodged in the President alone. Those who were extremely jealous of the rights of the States and suspicious of the enlargement of Executive powers demanded that no treaty should be made without the consent of Congress. Finally the compromise was reached by which it was provided that the President, by and with the advice and consent of two-thirds of the Senators present, should make treaties. The idea seems to have been that the dual existence of the Republic should be recognized, and that in concluding treaties the President would represent the Republic's national existence, while the Senate would represent the States in their sovereignty. The powerful sentiment in favor of protecting the States is seen in that provision of the Constitution requiring the advice and consent of two-thirds of the Senators present to make a valid treaty. The idea of requiring two-thirds of the Senators present to ratify a treaty was no doubt taken from the Articles of Confederation, requiring nine States, or two-thirds of the original States, to make a treaty valid. This same remarkable instrument, which Mr. Gladstone said was the "most wonderful work ever struck off in a given time by the brain and purpose of man," provides:

This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary.

This clause is a contradiction in itself, for it declares three classes of laws to be supreme. There can not be three supreme laws emanating from the same source. "Supreme" expresses the highest degree, and it is hard to conceive how three different branches of our Government can possess this extreme superiority. The fact that a treaty forbidden by the Constitution, or an act of Congress not permitted by that instrument, are void and must give way shows conclusively that neither is really and actually supreme, but are necessarily subordinate in some respects. I well conceive how a treaty made entirely within the scope of the treaty-making power is the supreme law of the land in its own *particular* field, and the same might be said of an act of Congress when it does not conflict with the Constitution, with a subsequent treaty, or the reserved powers of the State.

The fact that this is a constitutional Republic precludes the idea of absolutely unlimited power anywhere and negatives the doctrine of absolute supremacy in any one department of our Government. However, the interesting question is, What is the extent of the treaty-making power under our Constitution and what are its limitations? The Federal Government during its existence of more than a hundred years has executed more than 300 treaties according to the provisions laid down in the Constitution, and yet where is the man so bold as to undertake to define the treaty-making power of the Federal Government or the limitations that can be placed upon that power? This power is undefined and undefinable. No arm of our Government seems so little comprehended.

There are those who contend that because the States before the formation of the Union had the right to make treaties with foreign nations, when the States agreed to delegate the treaty-making power to the President and Senate that immediately the President and Senate were clothed with absolute power and right to make any treaty affecting any State constitution or law which those States had the power to make before the adoption of the Constitution. The States, in forming the Constitution, delegated in unequivocal terms the sole and entire treaty-making power to the Federal Government, and went so far as to forbid any State to make any treaty. If this view is correct—and I do not assent to it—then any treaty made in accordance with the formalities prescribed by the Constitution is superior to all the reserved powers of the States, notwithstanding the tenth amendment to the Constitution, which would mean that all the reserved powers are not reserved, but confided to the President and Senate.

There are others who contend that no treaty is valid which contravenes the Federal Constitution or any State law or any State constitution, if the said State law or constitution is within the reserved powers of the State. Both of these contentions have much in our legislative, judicial, and political history that tends to sustain them. However, this last contention has been apparently somewhat shaken by Supreme Court decisions, which I will notice further on in this discourse.

It may be said generally that the treaty-making power does not extend so far as to authorize that which the Constitution itself forbids, nor can a treaty change the character of our Government or that of any State. This power, while full and to a degree supreme, must always "be exercised agreeably to the fundamental principles of liberty," which form the foundation stones of our Republic. The power must, therefore, be exercised to maintain and preserve our national life, and not encroach upon it or destroy it. No further general limitations than these can be gathered either from the Constitution or from the opinions of the Supreme Court for more than a century. In view of the dual existence of our Government—State sovereignty coexistent with national sovereignty—there is no power in the Constitution so difficult to define and so impossible of limiting by any one definition.

It is generally understood, and has been declared more than once by the Supreme Court, that a treaty can not contravene any provision of the Federal Constitution, and yet we find the

Supreme Court, notwithstanding the right of trial by jury guaranteed in that instrument, has upheld a treaty which provided for the trial of an American citizen by an American consul in Japan without indictment by grand jury or hearing before petit jury, in which trial one Ross was convicted by the consul of murder and sentenced by him to be hanged.

The Constitution declares that a treaty is the supreme law of the land, and yet our highest court has held that Congress itself can repeal any treaty, though made according to constitutional requirements; and, on the other hand, it is generally admitted, and so held by our courts, that a treaty executed after the passage of an act of Congress is superior to such legislative act, which indicates that an act of Congress and a treaty are co-ordinate in their effect, and whenever they conflict they are regarded as legislative enactments, and the last one is held to be the law of the land by repealing the former.

Whenever a treaty is concluded which requires legislative enactment to make it effective, such a treaty remains inoperative until the Congress has enacted the necessary legislation.

A treaty can not usurp the power which the Constitution expressly lodges in the Congress, and although the Constitution says that a treaty is the supreme law of the land, yet such an instrument stipulating the payment of sums of money to foreign powers can be rendered nugatory by the refusal of Congress to appropriate money for this purpose, for the Constitution expressly provides that no money shall be paid out of the Public Treasury unless Congress so directs.

A treaty which undertakes to levy customs duties, although declared to be the supreme law of the land, becomes invalid unless Congress shall ratify the same, for the reason that the Constitution provides that all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives. It is therefore clear that a treaty is *not* the supreme law of the land whenever an act of Congress is required to make it effective. No treaty, therefore, can compel Congress to appropriate money, because the representatives of the people are responsible only to their constituents and are not dependent upon the treaty-making power, and a high authority says that "every foreign government may be presumed to know that when a treaty stipulates the payment of money the legislative sanction is required."

The rights of aliens in this country have usually been defined in our treaties with foreign countries, but the Congress of the United States has the undoubted power to bar or deport aliens regardless of any treaty, or all treaties, which the President and Senate may have made to the contrary.

Congress has the power under the Constitution to declare war, but the President and Senate by treaty can terminate it at any time without Congressional sanction, and no legislative act is required to give the treaty-making power the right to "transform the condition of war established by the declarations of Congress into the condition of peace established by treaty." In fact, all the great wars between the United States and foreign powers have been terminated by the President and Senate—namely, the war of 1812, the war with Mexico, and the war with Spain.

The question of the power of treaties of cession and their limitation is one of great perplexity, and one upon which the

greatest legal minds from the beginning of the Government to the present time have had different opinions. The United States have *acquired* territory by legislative enactment and by treaty. The Republic of Texas and the Hawaiian Islands are the only instances where territory has been acquired by legislative enactment, and by mutual enactment on the part of the Republics of Texas and Hawaii. In these instances the Republic of Texas and the Government of Hawaii became extinct and each ceased to be an independent power. Many authors, and the Supreme Court itself, have discussed the question as to whether the treaty-making power can cede territory belonging to a State of the Union without the consent of such State.

In the Constitutional Convention Colonel Mason, in urging the right of the House of Representatives alone to originate bills for raising revenue, declared that he did so because "he was extremely anxious to take this power from the Senate, which could already sell the whole country by means of treaties."

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The most interesting question to-day is as to what extent the treaty-making power can supersede a State law or State constitution. The construction of treaties and United States statutes is comparatively easy, but when we come to consider the treaty-making power and the power of the States we tread upon much unmarked ground, for there is no one who can say specifically what the power of each is as regards the other. It is agreed that Congress can not pass a law interfering with State statutes in regard to the descent of property, as this would be interfering with the internal affairs of a State, and yet it has been decided by the Supreme Court that such State statutes in so far as they apply to foreigners can be absolutely set aside and nullified by treaty stipulations, which is another way of saying that the treaty-making power extends farther into the local matters of States than acts of Congress. It is interesting to note that of the 300 treaties concluded by the United States since 1776 not one of them has ever been declared unconstitutional.

The weight of authority is to the effect that a treaty properly ratified, concerning a subject within the treaty-making sphere, is superior to any State constitution or State law, although Mr. Calhoun contended that a treaty could not affect matters wholly within the State's jurisdiction to any greater extent than Congress could do so; but the Supreme Court has expressly overruled this view. He further contended that the supremacy of the treaty-making power was not absolute, but limited both in extent and degree; that it did not extend beyond the delegated powers, all others being reserved to the States and to the people of the States. He said:

* * * Beyond these the Constitution is destitute of authority and is as powerless as a blank piece of paper, and the measures of government mere acts of assumption.

The fact that the Federal Government is a Government of delegated powers proves that there is sovereignty left in the States. Full sovereignty was originally in the people of the States and only a portion of their sovereignty was given to the National Government. Yet the extent of that sovereignty which still resides in the States has never yet been accurately defined, and it is only possible to define it as each particular case arises.

In *Ware v. Hylton*, decided in 1796, the court said that if it had the power to declare a treaty void, it would never exercise that power except in a very clear case. Such a case has never arisen, as no treaty has yet been declared unconstitutional. The courts have always regarded it as their duty to *construe* treaties. * * *

In 1866, in the case of the *United States v. Rhodes*, Judge Swayne said:

A treaty is declared by the Constitution to be the law of the land.

But adds:

What is unwarranted or forbidden by the Constitution can no more be done in one way than in another. The authority of the National Government is limited, though supreme in its sphere of operation. As compared with the State governments, the subjects upon which it operates are few in number. Its objects are all national. It is one wholly of delegated powers. The States possess all which they have not surrendered: the Government of the Union only such as the Constitution has given it, expressly or incidentally, and by reasonable intendment. Whenever an act of that Government is challenged a grant of power must be shown or the act is void.

But even this expression of opinion on the part of Judge Swayne was obiter and not essential to the decision of the point at bar.

The people on the Pacific slope, and especially those of the State of California, and more particularly those of the city of San Francisco, were thrown into a state of fright, which almost amounted to furor, by the vigorous words of the President in his message to the present session of Congress, wherein he declared his purpose, if need be, to exhaust the civil and military power at his command to enforce the provisions of the "most-favored-nation" clause of the Japanese treaty in regard to separate public schools in the city of San Francisco. Since that time the attention of lawyers and public men everywhere has been sharply drawn to the question of the treaty-making power as it affects the States, and to the specific question as to whether the Japanese, under the treaty of 1894, can compel their admission to the white schools of California. Many years ago the legislature of that State passed a law empowering school trustees, whenever they should see fit, to establish separate schools for Indians, Mongolians, and for the children of Chinese or Mongolian descent, and providing further that when such schools were established, Indian and Chinese children, or children of Mongolian descent, must not be permitted to attend the white schools.

The number of Japanese in San Francisco and California has been growing very rapidly for the past ten years, until at the present time it is claimed that more than a thousand Japanese enter the port of San Francisco every month, and that there are more than 50,000 Japanese wage-earners in California at present. The rapidly increasing number of these people constrained the authorities to establish separate schools for orientals and others provided for in the statutes. The Japanese in their controversy with the United States contend, as I understand it from the public press, that Article I of the treaty of 1894, which declares—

That in whatever relates to the rights of residence and travel the citizens or subjects of each contracting party shall enjoy in the territories of the other the same privileges, liberties, and rights, and shall be subjected to no higher imposts or charges in these respects than native citizens and subjects, or citizens and subjects of the most-favored nation—

gives them the right to attend the white schools of the Commonwealth of California, or, for that matter, anywhere in the United States. This contention and the President's threat alarm the people of California. If the situation were changed a little many other States of the Union would be alarmed also. I noted in the press dispatches of a few days ago that the legislature of California had directed her attorney-general to defend the suit instituted by the Federal Government in behalf of the Japanese and had appropriated \$10,000 for the employment of extra counsel. It thus appears that the people of California are terribly in earnest and are determined to fight to the bitter end any effort to force orientals into their white public schools. The Supreme Court will now be called upon to decide whether or not the treaty rights of the subjects of the Mikado are violated by this statute providing for the separate schools, and if violated by the statute, then to say whether or not the State of California has the right in managing her internal affairs, in pursuance of the police powers reserved to her by the makers of the Constitution, to enact and enforce her school laws. No one will contend that the Congress of the United States can pass a law nullifying her school act in this respect. Has, then, the Senate and President more power than Congress in this respect? Dr. John Bassett Moore says:

That a treaty is no more the supreme law of the land than is an act of Congress is shown by the fact that an act of Congress vacates pro tanto a prior inconsistent treaty. Whenever, therefore, an act of Congress would be unconstitutional, as invading the reserved rights of the States, a treaty by the same effect would be unconstitutional.

If the Supreme Court should decide that the Japanese have the right to force themselves into the white schools of California, then every subject of Great Britain, whether he be the black man of Jamaica, the Mongolian from Hongkong, or the Hottentot from South Africa, would have the right to enter any white public school in the United States. So it will at once be appreciated by people everywhere that the question now at issue is a very grave one, and its determination may have very far-reaching effect if it be decided in favor of the Japanese contention.

However, as I come from a section of this Republic where the conviction is innate that the Caucasian race is superior to the Mongolian as well as to the African—in fact, superior to all other races [applause]—I must be pardoned for looking at the problem from the standpoint of a southern Caucasian, and also from the standpoint of a lawyer who has read the decisions of our Supreme Court on questions very much akin and parallel to the Japanese question under discussion. I am aware that the Supreme Court has uttered many strong general expressions in regard to the treaty-making power. For instance, I quote from the opinion of Judge Cushing, delivered in the famous case of *Ware v. Hylton*, decided one hundred and eleven years ago. The judge says:

The State may make what rules it pleases, and those rules must necessarily have place within itself. But here is a treaty, the supreme law, which overrules all State laws on the subject to all intents and purposes; and that makes the difference. There is no want of power, a treaty being sanctioned as the supreme law by the Constitution of the United States, which nobody pretends to deny to be paramount and controlling to all State laws, and even State constitutions, wheresoever they interfere or disagree.

The court which passed upon this famous case, which has been affirmed many times since, was composed of judges some of whom had taken part in the Constitutional Convention, and therefore had large understanding of the opinions of members of the convention as to the limit and extent of the treaty-making power. I am aware that Judge Iredell, of my own State, dissented, but his dissent was not based upon the treaty-making power, but upon the application of the particular treaty executed before the Constitution was formed to the case at bar. All fair-minded lawyers must admit that the general principles enunciated in *Ware v. Hilton* are the law to-day as much so as a hundred years ago, and, in fact, our Supreme Court during all of its history has adhered strictly to this case as leading authority.

* * * * *

In 1880 it was decided by the United States circuit court of California that a State law prohibiting aliens who could not be naturalized from fishing in public waters was void because it violated stipulations in the Chinese treaty as discriminating against the subjects of that Kingdom and in favor of other aliens, since Chinese could not be naturalized.

Mr. GARRETT. Will the gentleman permit an interruption?

Mr. WEBB. Certainly.

Mr. GARRETT. Was not that case of *Ware v. Hilton* a case that involved a treaty that was adopted before the Constitution?

Mr. WEBB. A peace treaty. That is one difference, too. It was a peace treaty adopted prior to the creation of our present Federal Constitution. I believe that treaty with England was concluded in September, 1783, while our Constitution was not formed until 1789.

In the famous Chinese *Queu* cases, decided by the circuit court of California in 1879, an ordinance of the city of San Francisco providing that every person imprisoned in the county jail upon a criminal judgment upon arriving at the jail should have his hair clipped to the uniform length of 1 inch from the scalp, was declared void on the ground that the ordinance was in conflict with the fourteenth amendment, which prevents discrimination against a particular class of people, and on the further ground that it was aimed at certain aliens, the Chinese, and was void because it contravened certain stipulations of the Chinese treaty. This case was never carried to the Supreme Court. The able judge who delivered the opinion in this case expressed correctly the feeling which even then existed against the Chinese in California, and also expressed the feeling which now seems to exist in that State against the Japanese:

We are aware—

He said—

of the general feeling, amounting to positive hostility, prevailing in California against the Chinese, which would prevent their further immigration hither and expel from the State those already here. Their dissimilarity in physical characteristics, in language, manners, and religion would seem, from past experience, to prevent the possibility of their assimilation with our people. And thoughtful persons, looking at the millions which crowd the opposite shores of the Pacific and the possibility at no distant day of their pouring over in vast

nordest among us, giving rise to fierce antagonism of race, hope that some way may be devised to prevent their further immigration. We feel the force and importance of these considerations; but the remedy for the apprehended evil is to be sought from the General Government, where, except in certain special cases, all power over the subject lies.

In 1827, and since that time, the supreme court of Illinois has decided that treaty stipulations are paramount to State statutes affecting descents and disposals of property.

In Iowa the court has held in several cases that nonresident aliens can inherit property when United States treaty stipulations remove the disabilities of aliens.

Tennessee, by her supreme court, as early as 1826, declared the superiority of proper treaties over all State statutes.

In the case of *Cornet v. Winton* the judge writing the opinion said:

Shall it be allowed the State legislatures, by their acts, to oppose and prevent the executing of a treaty in which the whole Union is interested? Must the whole Union, because of the misconduct of one State, be forced into a war? A treaty should be a law operating immediately and directly upon the people. If the legislatures must be applied to to pass laws for the execution of treaties which are in any respect burdensome they will never do it.

The supreme court of Kentucky in 1862 also decided that a proper treaty had precedence over any State law.

The Michigan supreme court, 1859, declared that—

When a treaty has been made by the proper Federal authorities, and ratified, it becomes the law of the land, and the courts have no power to question or in any manner look into the powers or rights of the nation or tribe with whom it is made.

Even in 1788, before the present Constitution went into effect, the Pennsylvania courts upheld the supremacy of the treaties, and in 1806 declared their superiority over a provision in the constitution of that State. This was rendered in *Gordon v. Carr* in the United States circuit court of Pennsylvania. Massachusetts has followed the general ruling and sustained treaty stipulations where they conflict with state statutes.

I believe I have quoted in the foregoing opinions the strongest expressions that can be found in our Supreme Court reports in favor of the large and almost limitless power and effect of the treaty, but it is readily seen that the particular cases passed upon are not "on all fours" with the present Japanese controversy and rarely affected the police powers of the States.

I now wish to cite a few authorities that tend to sustain more strongly the rights of the States to govern their internal affairs in the full exercise of the police powers which are still reserved to them; and upon these grounds our Federal courts in many instances have refused to interfere with State action concerning matters under State control.

Treaties may be made on all subjects by the United States not inconsistent with its nature or its relations with the States. (*Holden v. Joy*, 17 Wall., 243.)

Laws and treaties of the United States in order to be *binding* must be *within* the *legitimate* powers vested by the Constitution in the General Government. (Daniel, Judge, License cases, 5 How., 613.)

Mr. Butler, in his work on the treaty-making power of the United States, says:

The Constitution provides that all powers not delegated to the United States nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people, and certainly the *police* power is reserved to the States.

In 1885 the Supreme Court of the United States declared that a municipal ordinance of San Francisco imposing regulations and restrictions upon laundries, and which ordinance was aimed directly at the Chinese in that State, was valid. The court further held that such regulations of laundries was a question which came within the rights of the municipality. The ordinance in question prohibited washing and ironing in public laundries within certain territorial limits of the city within the hours of 10 o'clock at night and 6 in the morning. The court distinctly declared that this was a police regulation, and sustained it as such.

As to what subject the treaty power extends, we find Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Practice says:

(1) It is admitted that it must concern foreign nations, or it would be a nullity, *res inter alios acta*.

(2) By the general power to make treaties the Constitution must have intended to comprehend only those objects which are usually regulated by treaty and can not be otherwise regulated.

(3) It must have meant to except out of these the rights reserved to the States, for surely the President and Senate can not do by treaty what the whole Government is interdicted from doing in any way.

(4) And also to except those subjects of legislation in which it gave a participation to the House of Representatives.

In the United States—

says Judge Brewer, in the matter of *Heff* (197 United States, 489)—

there is a dual system of government, national and State, each of which is *supreme* within its own domain, and it is one of the chief functions of this court to preserve the balance between them.

In 1857 the New York court of appeals declared that an act of the legislature prohibiting intrusion on certain Indian lands within the State, notwithstanding the treaty of 1842, was a police regulation, and that the State had the right to enact such a law and could not be deprived of the right to exercise such power to preserve the peace. This case was affirmed by the United States Supreme Court. (*Cutler v. Dibble*, 21 Howard.)

We find in the opinion of the court, among other things:

The statute in question is a police regulation for the protection of the Indians from white people and to preserve the peace. It is the dictate of a prudent and just policy. The power of a State to make such regulations to preserve the peace of the community is *absolute* and has never been surrendered.

Possession and enjoyment of all rights are subject to such reasonable condition as may be deemed by the governing authority essential to safety, health, peace, and good order of the community. (*Crowley v. Christensen*, 137 U. S., 89.)

In 1893 the United States circuit court of South Carolina held that the State dispensary statute did not contravene the rights of Italian citizens to freely carry on business in this country as guaranteed them in the Italian treaty of 1871. Judge Simonton, in his opinion, after referring to the treaty stipulations, said:

Under these articles the complainants have the same rights as citizens of the United States. It would be absurd to say they had greater rights. The police power is a right reserved by the States and has not been delegated to the General Government. In its lawful exercise the States are *absolutely sovereign*. Such exercise can not be affected by any treaty stipulations. *Salus populi suprema lex*.

The distinguished writer on the treaty-making power, Mr. Butler, has well declared:

The Supreme Court has in regard to treaties, as it has in regard to Federal statutes, ever kept in view the exclusive right of the States to

regulate their internal affairs, and have not allowed either treaty stipulations or Federal statutes to be so construed as to prevent the proper exercise of *police powers*.

In the License cases (5 How., 504), Judge McLean said:

A State regulates its domestic commerce, contracts, the transmission of estates, real and personal, and acts upon all internal matters which relate to its moral and political welfare. Over these subjects the Federal Government has no power.

In *Foster v. Kansas* (112 U. S.) the court said:

These cases rest upon the *acknowledged* right of the States of the Union to control their *purely internal* affairs, and in so doing to protect the health, morals, and safety of their people by regulations that do not interfere with the execution of the powers of the General Government or violate rights secured by the Constitution of the United States. The power to establish such regulations, as was said in *Gibbons v. Ogden* (Wheat., 1) reaches *everything* within the territory of a State not *surrendered* to the National Government.

In *Patterson v. Kentucky* (97 U. S., 501) on this particular question the court says:

But obviously this right is not granted or secured without reference to the general powers which the several States of the Union *unquestionably* possess over their *purely domestic* affairs, whether of internal commerce or of police.

Judge Miller, fifteen years after he had written his famous opinion in the Slaughterhouse cases, which opinion will ever remain a monument to his ability, integrity, and fearlessness, said:

The necessity of the great powers conceded by the Constitution to the Federal Government originally, and the equal necessity of the autonomy of the States and their power to regulate their domestic affairs, remain as the great features of our complex form of government.

This able jurist in his remarkable opinion in the Slaughterhouse cases, speaking of the police power, said:

This power is and must be from its very nature incapable of any very exact definition or limitation. Upon it depends the security of social order, life and health of the citizen, the comfort of an existence in a thickly populated community, the enjoyment of private and social life, and the beneficial use of property.

Judge Miller then quotes Chief Justice Marshall in *Gibbons v. Ogden*, wherein Judge Marshall, speaking of inspection laws and the police powers, said:

They form a portion of that immense mass of legislation which comprises everything within the control of a State *not surrendered* to the General Government—all which can be most advantageously administered by the States themselves.

A statute of New York which required every master of a vessel arriving from a foreign port in that of the city of New York must report the names of all his passengers, with certain particulars as regards their age, their last place of settlement and place of their birth, was held not to be an invasion of the exclusive right of Congress to regulate commerce, but that such a statute was within the exercise of the police power of the State.

In the case of *The United States v. De Witt* an act of Congress which made it a misdemeanor to mix naphtha and illuminating oils for sale or to sell oil of petroleum inflammable at less than a prescribed temperature was declared void because the power to make such a law belonged to the State as a police regulation and Congress had nothing to do with such a matter, even though it undertook to make it a part of the internal-revenue law.

In the case of *Railway v. Mississippi*, decided in 1890 by the Supreme Court of the United States, the State statute of Mississippi providing that railroads carrying passengers in that State should provide separate but equal accommodations for the white and colored races was upheld as being entirely within the power of the State to pass such a law.

In the celebrated case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (163 U. S.) it was decided that a Louisiana statute requiring railroad companies to provide equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races, and providing that no person should be permitted to occupy coaches other than those assigned to them on account of the race to which they belonged, and further requiring the officers of the railroad company to assign to each passenger the coach to which his race designated him, and imposing penalties upon any passenger insisting on going into any other car than the one set aside for him according to his race was constitutional and not in conflict with the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States, but was entirely within the police power of the State. Justice Brown, in the opinion, says:

We think the enforced separation of the races as applied to the internal commerce of a State neither abridges the privileges or immunities of the colored man, deprives him of his property without due process of law, nor denies him the equal protection of the laws, within the meaning of the fourteenth amendment.

The learned judge, quoting from *People v. Gallagher*, 93 N. Y., says:

When the Government, therefore, has secured to each of its citizens equal rights before the law and equal opportunities for improvement and progress, it has accomplished the end for which it was organized and performed all the functions respecting social advantages with which it is endowed.

Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts—

Says the eminent judge—

or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and attempts to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one can not be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States can not put them on the same plane.

[Applause.]

I take it, therefore, that no lawyer who cares anything for his professional reputation will deny that if the separation of races on railroad cars is a police regulation, likewise the separation of races in public free schools is a similar police regulation—in fact, the two cases are “on all fours.” One of the earliest cases declaring that the States have a right to make provision for the instruction of colored children in separate schools established for them and prohibiting their attendance upon other schools is that of *Robinson v. City of Boston* (5 Cushing, 193), and this opinion is quoted with approval in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. The further assertion is made in that celebrated case that “similar laws have been enacted by Congress under its general power of legislation over the District of Columbia, as well as by the legislatures of many States, and have been generally, if not uniformly, sustained by the courts.”

Now, we have seen that a law passed by a State legislature in the exercise of her police power is a *supreme enactment*, and therefore no Federal Constitution or treaty can vary, amend, or annul it any more than a State legislature could repeal the

fifteenth amendment to the United States Constitution. In the exercise of police powers the States are supreme and absolutely free from aggressions, whether in the form of Federal enactments or treaty stipulations. [Applause.] And in the exercise of police powers there is a large discretion given to the legislature as to whether or not their police regulations are reasonable and as to whether or not such regulations are wise or unwise is beyond the power of the Federal courts to correct. (*Patterson v. Kentucky*, 97 U. S., 504; *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U. S., 553.)

No treaty executed by the United States, within my knowledge, has ever undertaken to give an alien any rights superior to those enjoyed by our own citizens. I think a treaty which should undertake such a thing would be void as unconstitutional. Could, then, the State of California pass a law requiring separate coaches for the Japanese and whites? The State has a right to do it with reference to her own citizens, and unless a treaty undertakes to give larger rights and privileges to aliens than natives possess, most certainly such a State law would be valid. Shall it be contended that the black man of Jamaica, a subject of Great Britain, taking up residence in any of the States that have separate passenger-car laws, could force himself into white cars when an adjoining car on the same train is occupied by native negro passengers who would not have this same right?

State laws forbidding the intermarriage of certain races are held universally to be within the police powers of the State. A State can forbid the marriage within her borders of any white person and negro, which would prevent a white Englishman from marrying a negro woman, no matter what a treaty might provide in this regard. In like manner, could a marriage between a white person and a Japanese be prohibited, or a white person and an Indian?

The public free school is wholly a State institution, to the maintenance of which the Federal Government does not contribute a penny. The States have the absolute right to establish public free schools or to refuse to have one within their borders. Neither the Constitution nor the Congress has any power to coerce a State into establishing a free public school system. Neither can Congress nor the Constitution prohibit a State from enacting a law requiring different native races to attend different schools. Then, if Congress and the Constitution can not force a State to admit black or brown pupils into white schools, how can the treaty-making power, which gets its force and vitality from the Constitution, compel such action? [Applause.]

The free-school privilege of California is a gift to the Japanese which they are not compelled by any law, regulation or ordinance to accept. The only condition which the State attaches to the gift is that, if they do accept it, they must do so in certain school buildings, which are as comfortable as those in which the whites attend school and in which they find training equal in quality and duration to that of the white schools. It is the height of oriental conceit to demand more; it is the climax of Japanese swellheadedness to persist in their demand. [Applause.] This insistence in demanding that they be allowed to attend white schools proves their unfitness to enjoy such a privilege. [Applause.] The sons of Nippon should

be made to understand that notwithstanding their recent victory over decrepit Russia they can not compel the young Giant of the West to abrogate her laws or destroy her customs simply to meet the Japanese caprice or tickle Japanese vanity. [Applause.]

Take another view of the case. Suppose California should abolish her public free schools. Suppose, then, a citizen of Great Britain, residing in New York State, attends New York free schools under the "most favored nation" clause of the English treaty. Now, could a citizen of Japan, residing in California, compel that State to establish free schools for him to attend, on the ground that subjects of Great Britain enjoyed free-school privileges in New York? Carrying the treaty-making powers to the extent that some would have us go, a Japanese subject residing in North Carolina could compel that State to give him a ten months' school term instead of four months, because a subject of Great Britain in the State of New York has the privilege of a ten months' term.

Of course this is absurd, and shows clearly that the public schools and all rules and regulations governing their administration, even unto the separation of the sexes and races, are entirely in the control of the States that establish them, and every person, including foreigners of most favored nations, must accept such schooling under such length of term, rules, and regulations as the State of his residence prescribes. Could a Japanese girl compel the State authorities to admit her into the separate male schools, set apart for male students alone? If not, why not? The question answers itself. Does anyone contend that a white pupil of San Francisco could compel his admission to the oriental school in the face of a provision of the State statute, or even a regulation of the school board forbidding same?

My own conviction is that no treaty can grant foreigners in the United States any greater privileges and immunities than a citizen of the United States has the right to demand and enjoy under the Federal Constitution, and these privileges and immunities are: The right to life, liberty, ownership of property, and the equal protection of the laws. "Equal protection of the laws" does not grant to everyone the right to attend any school within the State, nor does it guarantee social equality. This clause in the Constitution and the treaty stipulation in question are entirely met and satisfied when a State furnishes, as in the case of California, to the oriental schools teachers of equal competence, terms of equal length, and schoolhouses of equal comfort with those of the white schools; and this it is admitted is being done.

A statute which implies merely a legal distinction—

Says Judge Brown—

between the white and colored races—a distinction which is founded in the color of the two races, and which must always exist so long as white men are distinguished from the other race by color—has no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races. (163 U. S., 543.)

Laws permitting, and even requiring, their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the State legislatures in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate

schools for white and colored children, which has been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of States where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced. (163 U. S., 541.)

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it. The argument necessarily assumes that if, as has been more than once the case, and is not unlikely to be so again, the colored race should become the dominant power in the State legislature, and should enact a law in precisely similar terms, it would thereby relegate the white race to an inferior position. We imagine that the white race, at least, would not acquiesce in this assumption. (163 U. S., 551).

No one would contend that every Japanese student would have the right to be taught by one particular teacher, in one particular room, or in one particular part of the city, if his whim should so dictate, just because some other pupil of school age was so taught.

But, Mr. Chairman, although it should be held that the third clause of Article I of the Japanese treaty of 1894 is in direct conflict with the school law of California, which I can not for a moment admit, still, sir, it is clear to me that the fourth paragraph of Article II provides that no stipulation in the treaty shall affect the police and public-security regulations of any State. The paragraph to which I refer reads as follows:

It is, however, understood that the stipulations contained in this and the preceding article do not in any way affect the laws, ordinances, and regulations with regard to all immigration of laborers, the police and public security, which are in force, or which may hereafter be enacted in either of the two countries.

It is therefore clear that those who drafted the treaty were careful to avoid an apparent clash between the treaty power and the police power reserved to the States.

It is within the police power, therefore, of every State not only to establish public schools, but to govern them by reasonable rules and regulations and provide for a separation of both sexes and races. Such regulations are clearly in the interest of the peace, health, and safety of the community and State. I predict, therefore, that when we hear from the Supreme Court—if a decision of the case pending shall be finally demanded—California will be left undisturbed in her right to maintain separate schools, and at the same time the Japanese treaty will be held to be constitutional and the school law of California construed by that court as not to conflict therewith.

So I contend, Mr. Chairman, first, that there is no conflict between the treaty and the California school law; second, that if there is conflict, the treaty must give way, for the California school law is an exercise of the police power, and therefore supreme, subject to repeal by no authority on earth save by her State legislature. [Applause.]

The good sense of the Supreme Court of our country can be depended upon to settle such cases wisely and justly and at the same time preserve our civilization and the spirit of our Government by refusing to interfere with purely local internal affairs of a State, regardless of the vehement and egotistical Jap, who yearns for and demands social as well as civil equality with our best American blood. [Loud applause.]



